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THE HIBEH PAPYRI

PART II

TURNER

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EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

THE HIBEH PAPYRI

PART II

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

FOR parts of two seasons, namely in February and March 1902 and January 1903, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt excavated for Ptolemaic cartonnage at El-Hibeh, and in 1906 published a substantial selection from their finds in *The Hibeh Papyri*, Part One. In the introduction to that volume, which was made up wholly of papyri of the third century B.C. discovered in their first season, they promised to publish in a future part a further selection from the Ptolemaic papyri found in the first excavations, together with the Ptolemaic papyri found in the second excavations and the Roman papyri from both years. The appearance of this part after almost fifty years fulfils their promise.

It can be asserted confidently that the texts intended by the original authors find a place here. After I had examined the remains, packed in sixteen large parcels, had made my own selection for publication, and was well ahead with the work, I had the good fortune to find preliminary transcripts of a score or so of texts made by Grenfell and Hunt, which indicated what they had in mind. With two or three insignificant exceptions, I had previously or have since traced these texts. To them has been added whatever seemed to have even a slight point of interest. An imposing bulk of fragments still remains unpublished: it is very doubtful whether any returns they might offer would be commensurate with the effort involved.

A perusal of the table on p. xiv which classifies papyri according to the mummies from which they were extracted will show that the major portion of this part, too, is composed of the first season's finds. Apart from papyri of the Roman era, 1903 offered only two Ptolemaic literary pieces (172, 231), and no documents on cartonnage, for 198, the prize of the second season, is not cartonnage, and was purchased. The reader will observe that what in Part I, p. 5, were described as 'numerous additional fragments of P. Grenf. ii. 7 (b)': have, on further examination, provided only two tiny scraps of that text (190); the majority of the fragments are of quite different character (see 179, 229). Among the Ptolemaic documents whose provenance can be located, those originating from Oxyrhynchus heavily outnumber the few from the Arsinoite nome or the Heracleopolite nome itself. There is therefore a strong presumption in favour of the view expressed in Part I, p. 12, that the literary texts also originate from Oxyrhynchus. The character of 16, 17, 26, 182-4, 188-9 suggests that a philosophical library was one of the sources broken up to provide cases for the mummies discovered by Grenfell and Hunt.

This is not the place to draw up a list of the Ptolemaic papyri from El-Hibeh which have found their way into other collections. It is clear, however, that apart from the documents, formerly at Berlin, published in BGU. vi, a not inconsiderable number of texts from this site are now in the collections at Hamburg and at Heidelberg. A few pieces are at Manchester, and possibly El-Hibeh is the origin of some of the texts in Strasbourg. The topography of the area and the identification of El-Hibeh with the ancient 'Αγκυρώνων or 'Αγκυρών πόλις was put beyond doubt by F. Bilabel in *Philologus*, 77 (1921), p. 422 (cf. also P. Baden, iv, p. 7), and is confirmed by 217 here published.

It remains to thank the many scholars from whose help this book has profited. First, to Dr. Lenger, for consenting to put her special knowledge of Ptolemaic legislation at the reader's service in No. 198; both in establishing the text and in drafting the introduction and commentary we have worked closely together. Secondly, to Professor T. B. L. Webster and Mr. T. C. Skeat who have read through all the proofs, the former of the literary texts, the latter of the documents, made many fruitful suggestions and saved me from many errors. Dr. John Barns examined the numerous fragments of 182 and 198 over an illuminated plane-table, and helped by combination to reduce their number. I owe references and suggestions also to Professors A. Momigliano, B. Snell, A. D. Nock, P. M. Fraser, Fr. Lasserre, H. Erbse, A. Van't Dack, and I would not wish to forget the care and vigilance of Messrs. R. & R. Clark's compositors and reader.

E. G. TURNER

September 1954

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOTH literary (except for **195, 221-2, 232**) and non-literary texts are printed in the modern style, with accentuation and punctuation, though retaining the line-by-line form of the original. One only of the new literary texts, **174**, is given in dual form, a literal transcript being followed by a reconstruction in the modern style. The lectional signs occurring in the papyri are cited in the critical apparatus, where attention is also drawn to points of orthography. In non-literary texts, abbreviations and symbols are usually resolved. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Dots indicating letters unread are printed on the line, dots inside square brackets showing the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs \ / an insertion above the line. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to Hibeh papyri printed in either Part I or this Part.

Standard abbreviations have been used (for papyrological publications see LSJ, p. xliii, Table III). Attention may perhaps specially be called to the following :

Henne, *Stratégès* = H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens*, Cairo, 1935.

LSJ = *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, new edition revised and augmented throughout by H. S. Stuart-Jones and R. Mackenzie, Oxford, 1925-40.

Mayser, *Grammatik* = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig, 1926-36.

Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* = P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, Berlin, 1920.

Milne, *Cat. Lit. Lond.* = H. J. M. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1927.

M. or Mitteis, *Chr.* = L. Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*.

O.G.I.S. = *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 1903-5.

P. Cair. Zeno or P.C.Z. = C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, Cairo, 1925-40.

P. Col. Inv. 480, see Westermann, *Upon Slavery*.

P. Heidelb. = G. A. Gerhard, *Urkunden und lit. Texte aus d. Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Veröffentlichungen aus den Badischen Papyrussammlungen, Heft 6)*, Heidelberg, 1938.

P. Wien Boswinkel = *Einige Wiener Papyri* (Pap. Lug.-Bat. ii), ed. E. Boswinkel, Leyden, 1942.

Préaux, *Écon. royale* = C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, Brussels, 1939.

RE=Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

Rev. Laws=*Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, cited according to the re-edition by J. Bingen, *Sammelbuch Beiheft I*, 1952.

S.B.=*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 1913-.

Taubenschlag, *Introduction*=R. Taubenschlag, *Introduction to the Law of the Papyri* (in *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental—Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*, i, 1952).

Taubenschlag, *Law*=R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, i, 1944; ii, 1948.

Taubenschlag, *Strafr.*=R. Taubenschlag, *Das Strafrecht im Rechte der Papyri*, Leipzig, 1916.

Wallace, *Taxation*=S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, 1938.

WB=F. Preisigke, E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der gr. Papyrusurkunden*, 1925-.

Westermann, *Upon Slavery*=W. L. Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt*, New York, 1929.

W. or Wilcken, *Chr.*=U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*.

Wilcken, *GZ.*=U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*.

TABLE OF MUMMY-NUMBERS

(See Part I, p. 12)

A: 173-81, 183, 185-7, 190-1, 193-4, 196, 199, 200, 203-5, 209, 211, 214, 221-9, 233-4, 237, 241-2, 244, 254-5, 270	A 14: 197
A (A 3 ?): 212	A (A 15 ?): 238, 258
A 6: 213, 243	A 16: 207, 249-52
A 8: 210, 264	10: 263, 267, 271
A (A 9 ?): 240, 257	14: 256
A 10: 210, 235-6	18: 192, 206, 208, 269
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A 12: 261-2	63: 268
A 13: 202, 253, 266	69-70: 182, 188-9, 230
	82: 247-8
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	126: 184, 245, 260

NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

172. POETICAL ONOMASTICON

1903.

Plate I.

c. 270-230 B.C.

The five columns composing this text (one of the few pieces of any interest obtained during the second season's work at El Hibeh) are written in a medium-sized upright and firm book-hand, characteristic of the middle of the third century B.C. There is no punctuation except an occasional paragraphus. A few corrections have been made by a second hand in lighter ink, but a number of errors have escaped the reviser's eye. The height of the surviving portion, which was trimmed at the top, is 13 cm.

The contents are an onomasticon or list of poetical epithets, all of them compound adjectives. The arrangement is not alphabetical, but by rough groupings based on one or other elements of their formation or of meaning. The logical arrangement is not infrequently broken by a kind of free association. Col. i begins with colour-compounds formed from the prefix *μελα-* or *κυανο-*, and then proceeds to *ἵππο-* compounds. Then come epithets for fate, colour epithets for ships, and words for reverence to the gods, among which the late prose term *δεισινδαίμων* (ll. 41-2) is a surprising intruder. Col. ii ends with compounds with prefix *εὖρυ-*. Col. iii is mainly devoted to 'sea' compounds, most of them from the prefix *ἀλι-*, followed by five compounds (all new) for 'true prophet'. Col. iv opens with compounds from *-βοιος* suffixes, then from *ἄγχι-* prefixes, and proceeds to words for captives and warriors based on items of a warrior's panoply. More of these are found in col. v, but there are intrusive groups of compounds from prefix *καλλι-*, more epithets for ships (mainly based on their shape), and at the end compounds from *φερε-* prefix may mark a transition to particular epithets for deities.

Words are usually cited in the masculine nominative singular. But there are some helpful exceptions. There are eleven cases of the feminine nominative singular. Some (e.g. *ἡεροφοῖτις* ('*Ερινός*) l. 30) show clearly what noun they describe. *ἀλμυρήσση* (l. 50) does not occur in the feminine in our text of Homer or in Hellenistic poetry. The accusative, masculine or feminine (once perhaps rather the nominative neuter, *φρέσβιον* l. 123) is given eleven times. There are one feminine genitive *ἀλοσάνης* (l. 51), a clear pointer to its source in

Od. iv. 404 νέποδες καλῆς ἀλοσύνης, and eleven citations in the nominative plural. [μελάμι]φυλλοι (l. 2) looks like a reference to Pind. *Pyth.* i. 27 μελλαμφύλλοις Αἴτνας κορυφαῖς, while κυανόφρυνες (l. 10) is clearly derived from a different source than Theocritus, who is the only other recorded user of the word, and who uses only the singular.

The gender and case used may offer one clue to the source of the citation. Another is offered by the metrical values of the words, and in a few cases by their dialect forms. A number of them (e.g. κυανόθελαι, ἵπποδίνης, εὐρύνωτος, παλίμποιος, ὀπιθόποιος, δαιτόποιος, καμψίχειρ, καμψίγυνος, ἐτυμόφανος, ἐτυμόφας, δοριάλωτος) could not have been used in hexameter verse, and must be credited to choral or tragic lyric. φοινικοπάραος (l. 34) and μιλτοπάραος (l. 36) must be located in choral lyric because of their Doric termination, while the contracted forms ἀγχίπλους (l. 85) and δορυσσοῦς (l. 111) attribute them to Athenian tragedy.

This conclusion inferred from their form is confirmed by an examination of the origins of the known words. While the majority of them belong to Homeric and epic vocabulary, some are found only in choral and tragic lyric: e.g. μελάμφυλλοι (l. 2) (Pindar and Bacchylides), ποντομέδων (l. 59) (Pindar and tragic lyric); μελαμφαρῆς (l. 4), ἵπποδίνης (l. 19), αἰολόπρυμνος (l. 113), only in Bacchylides. The following words are known only in tragic lyric: παλίμποιος (l. 25), εὐρύνωτος (l. 46), δηριάλωτος (l. 91), δοριάλωτος (l. 92, similarly other *δορι-* compounds ll. 94–5), χάλκασπις (l. 102), καλλιβλέφαρος (l. 104). The author of this list, it would seem, was drawing on the whole body of choral and tragic lyric as well as the epic. There is no evidence regarding solo lyric.

Such a consideration is of importance in view of the fact that more than thirty of the words in this list—that is, one in four—are unknown to our lexica. There is no reason to think of them as not drawn from existing literature, but invented for a special occasion. The proportion of new words is a reminder of how much Greek poetry is lost. It is interesting that some of these words are known only because they are used by Hellenistic poets, almost certainly at a date later than the compilation of this list. ἀλίζωνος, for instance, is noted in LSJ first from Callimachus, ἀλίσσαντος in Mnasalcas, μελαμπέταλος in Meleager, λιθόδηγτος in Philodemus.

To the best of my knowledge there is no parallel to this text. It is not a glossary, for there are no explanations of words, and its arrangement is not alphabetical (like 175), facts which put it in a different class from early Ptolemaic Homer-glossaries such as P. Freiburg. 1 c, and P. Heidelb. 180 V + 5 V. Its use in fact appears to be that of a *Gradus in Parnassum*. As such the light it sheds on the methods and techniques of the Alexandrian poets is even more interest-

ing than its direct contribution to lexicography and earlier Greek poetry. It has been supposed by scholars that Philetas' dictionary or *γλῶσσαι ἄτακτοι*, which was well enough known to be laughed at by Strato before 225 B.C. (fr. 1, see Guéraud-Jouguet, *Livre d'écolier*, ll. 208–9, p. 41), had considerable influence on his successors, not only at Alexandria. It is tempting to ask whether the five columns of this papyrus could have been included in Philetas' dictionary. If every citation in that work had its explanation, as is suggested by Strato's allusion, it cannot be. But this papyrus was completed by a scholar with a wide range of authors at his command and some idea of scholarship. In favour of the attribution to Philetas, perhaps as an appendix, two points may be noted. Firstly, the adjective *ἄτακτοι*, if it means 'lacking systematic arrangement' (V. Blumenthal in *RE*. xix. 2169 takes a different view), would well describe the arrangement in the papyrus. Secondly, the inclusion here of words like *μυχθαλδέσσα* (the spelling of which implies the acceptance of Antimachus' derivation) and the juxtaposition of *κορυθαίξ* and *τριχάικες* would account for the attribution to Philetas of Homeric interpretations.

Col. i	Col. ii
Blank	
[μελαμπέ]ταλος	25 π[αλ]ίμπρινος
[μελάμ]φυλλοι	ὀπισθόποινος
[μελαγ]κρήπιδες	δακτόποινος
[μελα]μφορής	καμψίχειρ
5 [κελαι]γεφής	καμψίγουνος
κυαν[ο]χαίτης	30 ἥερ[ο]φοῖτις
κυανόζυγοι	ἥεροῦτις
κυα[ν]ῶπις	[κ]υαν[ό]π[ρ]ωιρα
κυα[ν]οέ[θ]ειραι	μιλτ[ό]πρωιρος
10 κυανόφρυες	φοινικόπρωιρος
κυαν[ό]κολπος	35 φοινικόπρωιρος
κυανυγίς	μ[ι]λ[τ]οπάραος
ἐππ[ο]δάσεια	θεουδής
[ἐππ]οχαίτης	θεοταρβής
15 [ἐππ]όλοφος	ἀντίθεος
ἐπποφάται	40 ἰσόθεος
ἐππόδαμοι	[δ]εισιδαίμων

	ἐπιιοχάρμαι	[. . .]ε[. . .]δαίμων
	ἱποδίνητος	[^τ Ἀρ]ηίφιλος (?)
20	ἐπιιόχαρμος	εὐρύχορος
	ἐπιήλατον	45 εὐρύαγναια
	ἱποκέλευθον	εὐρύγωτος
	[χ]ρ[υ]ση[λ]άκατος	εὐρυ . . . τος
	[. . .] . [	εὐρυ . . . νος

9. Something added above θ.
then corrected to δεισι..

30. τ corrected.

41. [δ]εισοδαμων first hand,

Col. iii	Col. iv
[. . .] . [	. . . [. . .] .
50 ἀλμυρήεσσα	ἐκ[ατὸ]μβοιον
[ἀ]λοσύνδης	εἰκοσόβοιον
ἀλοτειχῆς	80 δυωδεκάβοιον
ἀλογενέτωρ	ἀλφ[ε]σίβοιον]
ἀλίζωνος	ἀγ[. . .]α . ρς
55 ἀλῖρραντος	ἀγχι[. . .] . ρς
ἀλιτεσγης	ἀγχιθεος
ἀλιδερκής	85 ἀγχιπλοῦς
ἀλυνητήν	ἀγχιστρ[ο]φ[ος]
ποντομέδων	ἀγχιμ[ο]λος]
60 παντογόνος	θεόκτιτ[ο]ν
ποντογνήτη	θεόγνη[τ]ον
\ /	90 λιθόδημητον
ἀμφ . α[λο]ν	δηιάλωτος
\ δ /	δοριάλωτος
ἀλι . ον[η]τον (?)	σιδηροπέρης
ἀλυνητέρω	δορίκτηρης
65 μυχθαλόεσσα	95 δοριπετήρης
\ γ /	ξενοδάκτος
ἀλί . ονος	ξεινο . . . ης
ἀλίζωνος	δοριδαπτ[ο]ς (?)
θαλασσόζ[ων]ος (?)	

ἐτυμόμαντις	σιδηρο . . ικτης
70 ἀληθοεπής	100 χαλκο . . . ης
ἐτυμόλωστος	χαλκο . [
ἐτυμόφανος	χάλκασπ[ις (?)
ἐτυμόφας	χαλκοκ[ορυστής (?)
Ὀλυμπομ[έ]δ[ω]ν	
75 [.]ε . . μέ[δ]ων	
Traces	

61. παντογνήτης, first hand, altered to παντογνήτη by the corrector.

Col. v

καλλιβλέφαρος[ς]	ἑγκυλόπρυμνος
105 καλλίτεκνος	ὑλακόμωροι
ἀγλαοδίνης	ἐγχεσίμωρο[ις]
ἐγχεσπαλ[ος]	. ωπ[
σ[α]κέσπαλος	120 φερ[
κορυθαίξ	φερ[
110 τριχάικες	φερέδε . α . [
δορυσσοῦς	φερέσβιον
ποικιλόπρυμνος	λωτρ[
αἰολόπρυμνος	125 καρποφ[όρος (?)
λειριόπρυμνος	[ἰ]σχέαι[ρα (?)
115 καμπυλόπρυμνος	. πρ . [

1-5. The restorations are based on the supposition that the *κνωτο-* compounds ll. 6-12 were preceded by other colour adjectives, and]μφαρης in l. 4 indicates that the adjective was μέλας.

1. μελαμπέταλος κλών: Meleager, *A.P.* iv. 1. 14.

2. μελάμφυλλοι: the plural points to Pind. *Pyth.* i. 27, as noted in the introduction. Cf. Theocr. *Epigr.* i. 3 μελάμφυλλοι δάφναι.

3. μελαγερήπιδες (= 'with black shoes', LSJ) is quoted by Eustathius to illustrate a rule of accentuation at 174, 9 and 1437, 53.

4. μελαμφαρης: only Bacchyl. iii. 13 μ. σκότος,

7. κνωάεργος is new.

9. κνωάθειναι: new. Compare ἀγλαίθειρος, καλλίθειρος, φιλήθειρος, ὀρθόθειρος, χρυσόθειρος.

10. *κυανόφρος*: not outside Theocritus (iii. 18; iv. 59; xvii. 53), where it is always singular.
11. *κυανόκολλος* is new, and perhaps supports Ursinus' correction *μελανοκόλλου* in Bacchyl.
- fr. 31 Snell⁶ *νικτὸς μεγαλόκολλου θύγατερ*.
12. The *ν* before *γ* is certainly read, not therefore *κυάναιγες*. *κυαναγίς* is new.
15. *ἱππόλοφος*: only in Aristoph. *Frogs* 818 *ἱππολόφῳ τε λόγῳ* and inscriptions.
16. *ἱπποφάται* (new), is, I take it, an agent noun from root *φατο* (*πέφεται*) parallel to the passive *Ἀρηφάτος* etc. and meaning 'slayers of horses'.
18. *ἱπποχάρμαι*: the plural (and adjectival) use points to Aesch. *Persae* 97 *ἱπποχάρμας τε κλόνους*.
19. *ἱπποδίνης*: only Bacchyl. v. 2 Snell⁶ *Συρακοσίῳ ἱπποδινῆων στραταγέ*.
20. *ἱππόχαρμος*: no actual instance of this termination is found.
25. *παλμπόινος*: only Aesch. *Choeph.* 793.
26. *ἀποσθόποινος*, *δακτοίποινος*, *καμψίχειρ*, *καμψίγονος* are new.
30. *ἡεροφαίτης* *Ἰερνίς*: *Il.* ix. 571 etc.
31. *ἡεροπαῖτης* is new. Hesychius has *ἡερόπαταιν' ἐπιτιμῶσαν*. The reading is not *ἡεροπαῖτης* (cf. Scholiast T on *Il.* xix. 87, and W. Schulze, *Kl. Schriften*, 402).
32. *κυανόπρωρα*: this feminine form only in Bacchyl. xvi. 1. Homer uses the form with two terminations only.
33. *μυλτόπρωρος*: cited by Hesychius from Apollonius' lexicon.
34. *φοινικόπαρρος* appears in *Od.* xi. 124, xxiii. 271.
35. *φοινικόπρωρος* is new.
36. *μυλτοπάρρος* is used by Homer, *Il.* ii. 637 etc.
38. *θεοταρβής* is new.
41. I do not see what to restore except *[δ]μοιδαῖμων*, in spite of the internal correction and the fact that the word is a prose-word of recent origin (first in Xenophon). The word in l. 42 looks like a repetition *[δ]μοῖδαῖμων*, for there does not seem to be room for its opposite *ἀδοιμοδαῖμων*. Perhaps ll. 41-2 are glosses to *θεοῦδης* (l. 37) and *θεοταρβής* (l. 38). Similarly *ἀληθοεπής* (l. 70) appears to be a gloss on *ἐπιμύμαντις*.
43. The first readable letter appears to have a horizontal crossbar, therefore [*Λ*ρ] *ἡήφιλος* rather than [*Ζ*η] *ἡήφιλος*.
46. *εὐρύνοτος*: only Soph. *Ajax* 1251 *ἐ. φῶτες*.
47. Neither *εὐρύβατος* nor *εὐρύνητος* suits the traces.
48. There is hardly room for *εὐρύστερνος*.
50. *ἀλυμυρήσσα*: this adjective always with *ποταμός* *Il.* xxi. 190, *Od.* v. 460, Ap. Rhod. ii. 936.
51. *ἀλοσύνης*: *Od.* iv. 404. Cf. Ap. Rhod. iv. 1599 *ἢ Νηρηά θύγατρες ἐπικλείουσι' ἀλοσύναι*.
52. *ἀλοτειχίς* is new.
53. *ἀλογενέτωρ* is new. Cf. 64 below.
54. *ἀλίζωνος*: Callim. fr. 384. 9 (Pf.), whence Antipater, *A.P.* vii. 218. Cf. 67 below.
55. *ἀλίσσαντος*: first in Mnasalcas, *A.P.* ix. 333.
56. The propenultimate letter might be *τ* instead of *γ*. Neither *ἀλντεσγής* nor *ἀλντεσγής* is very attractive. Possibly faulty copying for *ἀλντεσγής* (cf. *οὐρανοσενγής*, Aesch. fr. 312), *ἀλντε(λε)σγής* or *ἀλντεγής*? Messrs. Clark's reader suggests *ἀλντεσγής* also as a possibility.
57. *ἀλντεσγής*: new. Cf. Bacchylides' hapaxes *ἰοδερκής*, *εὐανθοδερκής*, *ὀβριμοδερκής*.
58. *ἀλνγνήτῃ*: new.
60. The scribe has wandered from *ποιντο-* to *παντ-*, and the corrector has missed the error in 60. *ποινώγονος* and *ποινώγητῃ* are new.
63. *ἀλνδάνης*: the word is cited in anon. grammaticus, Cod. Vindob. 294, apud Ludwig,

Aristarchs hom. Textkritik, 2. 665. Cf. ἄλδωνος, Aesch. *Persae* 275, and the parallel forms οἰστροδόνητος (Aesch. *Pr.* 589), and οἰστροδόνητος (Aesch. *Suppl.* 573).

64. ἀλγνέτωρ : cf. 53.

65. μυχθαλόσσα is Antimachus' form (fr. 141 Wyss) of the word which appears once in the *Iliad*, xxiv. 753 Ἀήμον ἀμυχθαλόσσα. Callimachus has ἀμυχθαλόσσα . . . ἤέρα, fr. 18. 8 (Pf.).

66. ἀλγόνος is new.

68. θαλασσό[ων]ος, if right, is new.

69-73. These five words are new, though Hesychius glosses ἀληθοειής: ἀψευδής. Presumably ἐνυμφός has a genitive ἐνυμφάντος.

74. Ὀλυμπομέδων is new.

79. εἰκοσόβιον: the ο is clear, and the corrector has missed it.

85. ἀγχιόλους: the contraction points to Eur. *I.T.* 1325 d. πόρον.

86. ἀγχιότροφος: Theognis 1261 ἱεῖνος ἀγχιότροφον.

88. Not θεόκτιστος. θεόκτις appears in Kaibel, *Epigrammata in Lapidibus Serrata*.

223. 5 θ. ἀε γαῖα.

89. θεόγνητος is new.

90. λιθομήγης: first in Philodemus, *A.P.* ix. 570 ἐν μονακλίῳ . . . λιθομήγῃ . . . πετρίδι ἐδίδεν.

91. διήλιωτος (5 syllables) in Eur. *Andr.* 105, 4 syllables Aesch. *Septem* 72.

92. δοριάωτος: Eur. *Tro.* 518; in trimeters, Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i, No. 29 (a) 6.

93. σιδηροπέρης is new. The σ might possibly be read as θ, i.e. σιδηροπέρθης. Not σιδηρόπορος.

94. δοριέτης: Eur. *Andr.* 155 δ. γυνή.

95. δορπετής: Eur. *Andr.* 653 δ. πείσματα, *Tro.* 1003 ἀγωνία δ.

96. ξενοδαίκτης: the passive form is new, but the agent form ξενοδαίκτης appears in Pind.

Parth. fr. 13. 30.

97. ξενο . . . ης: after ο, either π or ρ might be read. Not ξενοπρετής.

98. δοριάπτος is new.

99. Possible readings are σιδηρολίκτης, less probably σιδηρομίκτης, σιδηροπρίκτης, all unexampled.

102. χάλκασις: the reading is very uncertain.

104. καλλιβλέφαρος: Eur. *Ion* 189 καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς.

105. καλλιέκτος: Aristot. *Eleg.* 2 (beginning an elegiac couplet) καλλιέκτου μητρὸς θυγάτερ.

106. ἀγλαοδύης is new. Cf. Bacchyl. iii. 44 χρυσοδύης; ix. 39 πορφυροδύης.

109-10. It is interesting to find these two compounds associated at this early date, implying that in spite of Hesiod fr. 191, they were already interpreted in the light of each other. So later Apollonius maintained this interpretation of τριχάκης ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσούσας καὶ ἐπυσείοντας τὰς κόμας ἐν τῇ περικεφαλῇ πολεμεῖν, ἵσον τῷ κοροθάκει (*Σ Od.* xix. 177).

111. The contracted form shows the source of this citation to be tragic lyric.

112. ποικιλόπρυνος is new.

113. αἰολόπρυνος: only Bacchyl. i. 114 Snell* αἰολοπρύνους ναῶσι.

114. λειροπρυνος is new.

115. καμπυλόπρυνος is cited by Hesychius, s.v. κορωνίδες: καμπυλόπρυναι νῆες.

116. ἀγκυλόπρυνος is new.

117. ὑλακόμυροι κύνες: *Od.* xiv. 29, xvi. 4.

122. After the second ε, the foot of a perpendicular hasta is visible, e.g. γ, ι, κ, ν, π, φ or ψ, and a trace of ink after the α suggests another tall letter.

123. φερόσβιον: the neuter perhaps referring to φερόσβιον οὐθαρ ἀρούρης, *Hymn Demeter* 450.

126. The reading [ῥ]οχέ[ω]ρα was suggested by Mr. R. Browning.

173. COMPARISON OF ARCHILOCHUS AND HOMER

Mummy A.

9 x 14 cm.

c. 270-240 B.C.

This scrap, all of its edges torn, and a large parallelogram cut out of its centre, is written in a rapid, careless hand of medium size, intermediate between a literary and documentary hand. It is of the same general class as 186, but a rather earlier example, which I should date not later than 240 B.C. and wish to place rather earlier. The scrap preserves parts of twelve lines, giving alternately a verse of Homer, of general gnomic character and a matching iambic trimeter of Archilochus. Though these add only slightly to our store of fragments of Archilochus, they are of interest for the textual tradition. Dr. F. Lasserre, whose suggestions I gratefully acknowledge, points out that this method of parallel citation is the way in which Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 5-6 quotes a series of fragments of Archilochus (fr. 65, 73, 38, 57, 41 Diehl), usually of a gnomic nature. On one occasion the accompanying parallel is drawn from another poet than Homer, and once to Homer and Archilochus is added a parallel from a third author. Some similar parallels between Homer and Archilochus are found also in other authors (fr. 41, 66, 68), while some of the quotations in Clement's series reappear in Stobaeus, and one also in the Homeric scholia on the Odyssey. A. Elter (*De Gnomologiorum gr. historia atque origine*) showed that this material was drawn from an anthology composed in part by Chrysippus, in part earlier. 173 was written by the time Chrysippus had reached middle life, and there is therefore a high probability that it preserves an earlier stage of the anthology. The latter may have been based on the discussion by Aristotle in 'Απορήματα 'Αρχιλόχου Εὐριπίδου Χοιρίδου ἐν βιβλίοις γ' (title of a work in Hesychius' list), or by Heracleides Ponticus, who wrote περὶ 'Αρχιλόχου καὶ 'Ομήρου in two books (Diog. Laert. v. 87) and a κύκλος περὶ ποιητῶν. It is even possible that 173 preserves a part of Heracleides' work.

Dr. Lasserre is of the opinion that the author started with Archilochus, and looked for similarities and explanations in other authors, beginning with Homer, and that he therefore gives the lines of Archilochus in the order in which they occurred in his text.

Traces of ink

'Ομήρ[ου]

[τέι]χος δ' οὐ χραΐσμη[ησε τετυγμένον οὐδέ τι τάφρος]

'Αρχι[λόχου]

χραΐσμησε δὲ οὔτε π[ύργος οὔτε]

]

5 Ὀμήρου
 ὧς π[οτ]έ τις ἐρέει [. τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών]
 Ἀρχιλόχου
 [≍ 7-8 -] . ἐμοὶ τόθ' ἦδε γῆ χά[νοι ~ —]
 Ὀμήρου
 10 [μή τι σύ γ'] ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἀντικρὺ μάχεσθαι
 Ἀρχιλόχου
 κοῦδ' ἔς δ' ἔπειτα σὺν θεοῖς μαχέσεται (?)
 Ὀμήρου
 [II] . π. [. .] π[ιχ]

2. *Il.* xiv. 66, where codd. give δ' οὐκ ἐχραυσε.

4. Compare fr. 51 IVA 50 Diehl το πύργος ἀμφο[δ ~ ~ ~].

6. *Il.* iv. 182.

10. *Il.* v. 130.

12. κοῦδ' ἔς, keeping the negative as in the Homeric citation. An alternative reading is δοῦδ' ἔς, thus avoiding καὶ . . . δέ, and restoring, e.g., [μαχευμένους] at the end of the line. μάχομαι σὺν = 'fight against', is, however, a construction without parallel for Homer and early poetry (first in Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 3. 5), and the restoration of this pair of parallels should perhaps be sought on quite different lines.

174. ASTYDAMAS, *Hector* (?)

Mummy A.

Second century B.C.

The three fragments on which this text is written were all included among the scraps of cartonage bought by Grenfell and Hunt in the Fayum (cf. Part I, p. 2), and which proved to have been obtained from El-Hibeh. The hand of the recto, which wrote the tragic fragments, is a fair-sized capital remarkable for its roundness and for the well-developed serifs formed on the feet of the letters that terminate in a perpendicular stroke. The hand is therefore to be assigned to the second, not to the third century B.C. in spite of the fact that all the other scraps of cartonage in this lot (with the possible exception of 177) are of the third century,¹ usually early in the century, and there is nothing to explain the presence among them of pieces of a later date. The verso of all three fragments has been used again for a text written in two different hands (judged in isolation I should have assigned them to third to second century B.C.) which is so mutilated that its character defies determination. Possibly it is an anthology of (tragic ?) passages in iambic trimeters, for ll. 4 and 5 of col. i

¹ The latest dated document from Hibeh is 265 of 204/3 B.C.

(verso of fragment i) end $\text{J. aus } \xi\phi\upsilon\varsigma \text{ and } \text{Jos } \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon\varsigma$. The scraps are in a very tattered condition, while in fragment ii the ink is almost completely effaced and decipherment possible only with reagents. It has therefore seemed desirable in this case to give a complete diplomatic transcription to guard against subjective illusion.

The recto contains parts of a tragedy, of fourth-century authorship in view of the heading $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (l. 10). Fragment i has parts of two columns from the foot of the roll, a first column with ends of iambic trimeters, and a second in which, after an interlude of choral song, an unnamed male character (a spectator of the action, $\epsilon\sigma\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ l. 13) is giving voice in monody to nameless fears. A reference is made to a prophecy of the seer Helenus. Fragment ii is a tattered triangular scrap, with no obvious join to fragment i, though the hand on the verso is the same, containing parts of 10 iambic trimeters. The words $\delta\pi\lambda\omega\nu \epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$ (l. 19) might seem to suggest a description of a combat. But in a context mentioning Achilles, the Atreidae (or Atreides), a goddess of the sea and Hephaestus, the subject can only be Achilles' realization that his armour, loaned to Patroclus, has been lost to Hector, and its replacement by the divine panoply forged by Hephaestus. Fragment iii has the beginnings of 7 iambic trimeters. The writing on the verso is different from the other verso hands, and this fragment cannot therefore have been in close proximity to the preceding.

In two other papyri of a play or plays centring on Hector, (1) P. Amh. 10 ; (2) P. Strasb. WG 304. 2, ed. B. Snell, *Hermes Einzelschr.* v (1937), (conveniently available in D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i, No. 29), there is an allusion to the panoply won by Hector from Achilles (Page, loc. cit. l. 6 $\tau\eta\nu \text{'}\chi\eta\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma \delta\omicron\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\iota\delta\alpha$; l. 23 $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi[\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\nu \delta' \delta\pi\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu] \tau\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\nu \omicron\upsilon \pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon$). In 174 this point is also stressed. It is a natural hypothesis to think of all these fragments, which could very easily be combined, and seem to be of the same literary character, as part of a single play, and with B. Snell, to suppose that play was Astydamos' *Hector*.

This hypothesis can be no more than a guess, for all that survives of Astydamos' famous play is the line, handed down in a corrupt form, in which Hector takes off his helmet lest his son be terrified. Scholiast A quotes the line a propos of *Il.* vi. 472. But there is no compelling reason¹ to suppose that the timing of the incident (i.e. before the death of Patroclus) is the same in Homer and Astydamos, as D. L. Page argues (loc. cit. p. 161).

The Homeric parallels in *Il.* xxi and xxii suggest that the distracted speaker of *Il.* 11-14 is Priam. Possibly $\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ l. 14 alludes to Athena in the

¹ Cf. Aristot. *Poetics* 1452 a 1.

guise of Deiphobus, Hector's brother, during the combat of Achilles and Hector. Fragment ii might be part of either a messenger's speech, or a prologue (since if the action takes place inside Troy as fragment i suggests, no plausible human witness can be conceived to report on these events); or possibly a more satisfactory view is that these words continue Hector's speech beginning in Page, op. cit. No. 29 (a), ll. 5-10. Fragment iii might possibly be addressed to Deiphobus by Hector. The reference to Helenus can hardly be elucidated with certainty. In *Il.* vi. 76 he bids Hector rally the Trojans, and then enter Troy to have supplication made to the gods, while in *Il.* vii. 52-3 he urges Hector to fight:

οὐ γὰρ πῶ τοι μοῖρα θανεῖν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν·
ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼν ὅπ' ἄκουσα θεῶν αἰγιγενετάων.

A later dramatist might (with his own altered timing) have made use of either of these incidents, or of some other not now known.

Comparison with photographs kindly supplied by Prof. J. Schwartz shows that the hand of both recto and verso is different from that of the Strasbourg fragment of this play (inventory WG 304. 2) and from the Strasbourg 'tragic songs papyrus' (inv. WG 305-7), which I should date with N. Lewis firmly to the third century B.C.

I am grateful to Prof. T. B. L. Webster for help in the elucidation of these difficult fragments.

Fr. i. 18.5 × 7 cm.

Col. i

· · · · ·
c. 12] , ων κλυεῖ[
] πυρουμένων
] θύον
] ξῶκα . [,] λασε[,] δ γ
5 ποιουνταιμετα

TRANSCRIPTION B

Fr. i

Col. ii

10 Χ Ο [Ρ] Ο Υ Μ [Ε] Λ Ο Σ

Λυκίη[ς ἀνάσσω] Φοῖβε τίνα κλύω τὸν α[
 δ θυηπόλος [γάρ] μάντις Ἐλενος ἐ[πι]αχ' ἔπ[ος]
 . ρε [. .]ανοι . [. ἀλ]λ' ἐσιδὼν φόβον ἔχω τί[
 πρᾶξις τίς ἦν χερὸς ὅτ' ἄλλον ἐνοικον [

Fr. ii

15] . . . ε δι [
 × -]ν Ἀχλλέα π . []ωμεν[ο
 × -] Ἀτρεΐδ[] μάτ[ην
]πεύειν . [. . .] . [. . . .] δόρυ
] . ν ὄπλων ἐσπερημενο . [
 20 τῇν μητέρ' αὐ]τοῦ ποντίαν ἦκειν Θ[έτιν
 . .] . . καλλίον' Ἡφαῖ[στου πάρα
] η . [. .]πὶ τῷ . [
] πάρεστι μ . [

right, and there are many other possibilities (β, γ, η, ι, κ, ν, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ). If this stroke represents only half a letter, there is room for only one more letter before *αν*. After *ανοι* either *ω* or *σ*.

14. After *πρρ* two horizontals above each other, then tops of letters only, consistent first with *ις* or *κ*, then with *τις* or *πε*, then a dot high on left, with part of a horizontal, followed by part of a vertical.

16. π : or τ.

18. Before *ευειν* vertical hasta and preceding top horizontal on detached fragment ; after *ν* vertical hasta and elongated bottom horizontal, perhaps β.

19. Beginning, dot of ink high up ; similarly at end.

20. At beginning, portion of cross bar, and then portion of a vertical stroke curving to right.

21. At beginning, curving descending vertical, joined at foot by lower horizontal coming from right; following letter, part of stroke curving vertically to left.
 22. First letter on a spot where fibres are in disorder.

Fr. iii. 3 × 4·5 cm.

· ·
 · ·
 μῆτε σκι[
 ἀλλειδεδ[
 μενεῖ[
 ἡμεῖςδ[
 30 ωφώσα[
 μηθ . [
 ου[

Fr. iii

μῆτε σκι[
 ἀλλ' εἰ δέδ[οικας
 μενεῖ[ν
 ἡμεῖς δ[ε
 ὦ φώς ἄ[
 μηθ . [
 ου[

4. E.g. εἴξω κλάσαι, though such a future form is weakly attested.
 9. Presumably [. . χρ]ημός.
 10. χοροῦ μέλος: for this heading in 4th-century tragedy cf. 4. 35 (= Page, op. cit. No. 28, l. 7; Eur. *Oeneus*?) and Milne, *Cat. Lit. Lond.* 77, fr. 3, l. 4 (a *Medea* tragedy).
 11. The letter before Φοῖβε cannot be verified. [ἀναξ ὦ] tentatively suggested by Webster is too short. For the participle in the vocative cf., e.g., Eur. *I.T.* 17 ὦ τῆροδ' ἀνάσσειν Ἑλλάδος στρατηγίας. If a satisfactory short supplement could be found for τανα[at end (τόνον not being readable), the first two lines at least of this solo lyric could be taken as iambic trimeters with free use of resolution. It is not, however, easy to find such a supplement, or to connect the lines satisfactorily on the basis of so short a loss. Snell suggests that the first two lines should be taken as minor Ionics, arranged as tetrameters, in which case three or four syllables would be lost at the end. Different restorations would be required, e.g. l. 11 Λυκί[ς τύραννε], l. 12 θυγαῖς [δὲ] and εἰ[ς]αχ'. ἐξείχεν is not attested but would suit the traces.
 12. ἐπίγρ' ἔπος Webster. It is not εἰ[λ]αχε or εἰ[λ]ακε.
 13. I can think of nothing nearer the traces than Φοῖ[βάν γ'] ἀνοίσε[ιν]. ἀλ[λ'] κτλ. But both supplements are too long.
 20. τῆν μητέρ' αὐ[τοῦ] Webster.

175. LEXICON

Mummy A.

Frag. i. 3 × 10 cm.

c. 260–240 B.C.

These two scraps are written in the large, well-formed cursive hand often found in well-written documents of the later years of Philadelphus and the early years of Euergetes. A noteworthy feature of the present example is the length of the perpendicular initial stroke (almost equal to a second vertical hasta) which begins the right-hand cross bar of τ. Fragment i has on its verso the beginnings of eleven lines of a prose text in a rough upright capital, as follows: ¹ ατ . . [² βαλω[³ εσχα[τ ⁴ . που[⁵ ατο[⁶ χεῖ . . [

⁷ επ . . [⁸ μενου[⁹ ειναι . [¹⁰ ομοιοειδ ¹¹ ας ευ αφ[. The recto preserves parts of an alphabetical lexicon, arranged in order of the first two letters of each word, usually accompanied by a gloss on the same line. Fragment i lists 15 words beginning δε-, though the equivalents are lost. Fragment ii has parts of six lines, with glosses. The lemmata are not confined to Homeric words, for δέπαστρ[ον (l. 11) is known only in Antimachus, while the form εὐθύνει (l. 20) is not Homeric. The forms under which words are cited are capricious. Perhaps the form chosen is that in which the word appeared in an illustrative quotation. Such quotations are not given in this text, and it is possible that it is an abbreviated version of a larger lexicon, conceivably that of Philetas (cf. 172 introd.).

175 is not part of the same work as that found on the verso of 5+P. Ryl. 16a+P. Heidelb. 180, with which and with 172 it shares the distinction of providing the earliest known specimens of Greek lexicography.

Fr. i

. .
[4-5] . . [
δέκτης [
δειρή [
δενδ[.] . λο[
5 δερκόμεν[ος
δέδαστα[ι
δεομένων [
δεινώ [
δείξα[ι [
10 δένει [
δέπαστρ[ον
δοτιπυρο[
δεικανόω[ντο
δέδαεν [
15 δειλινόν . [
δε . [
. . .

Fr. ii

. . .
[ε]ύχ . . λ[
εὔκαιρον ταχύ
εὖχος κλέος
20 εὐθ[ύ]ν[ει κυβερνᾷ
[5] . [.]ς ταμίας
] . λλ[
. . .

2. δέκτης: *Od.* iv. 248.

4. There seems to have been a correction over the line, possibly δένει[ρ] \ αλ[ος].

6. In *Il.* i. 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλὰν ἐξεπράθμεν, τὰ δέδασται this form occurs significantly near to the beginning of the poem.

8. *Il.* i. 200 δεινὸν δὲ οἱ δοσε φάσθην is perhaps the source of this citation (not the first occurrence of δεινός in the *Iliad*).

11. δέπαστρον is cited by LSJ only from Antimachus, fr. 15 and 21.

12. δοτιπυροί: the π might be η or μ, and the supposed initial δ is represented by a mere dot of ink. Since δωσι-, not δοτι-, is the proper compound form, and the alphabetical order is upset by a word beginning δω-, the possibility that this line contains a gloss should be reckoned with.

13. δεικανόωντο: *Il.* xv. 86, *Od.* xviii. 111.

15. δειλμόν, if right, is not Homeric. Not δέιμον.

17. Not [ε]χωνάψ.

18. εὐκαιρον: not in Homer, and ταχὺ is a one-sided equivalent.

20. ἴθινει is the Homeric form.

21. [ἀμφιπύρ] [ε] [ς] (cf. *Il.* xxiv. 302 ἀμφίπολον ταμίην) could be read but would break the alphabetical sequence.

176-181. POETICAL FRAGMENTS

The following six small fragments of poetry are grouped together for the sake of convenience.

176 (Mummy A). 7 × 8.5 cm. Parts of ten lines in a small, somewhat rounded capital not unlike the hand of 88 and in which η and ν are sometimes hard to distinguish. It may be assigned to the middle years of Philadelphus (c. 270-250 B.C.). Palaeographically the overwriting of the final syllables of lines 5, 6 and 10 is noteworthy. The contents are apparently anapaestic dimeters mentioning the ritual accompaniments (Phrygian flute, tympanum, χορὸς ἐγκύκλιος, in which the deity perhaps joins) of worship of the Great Mother. It is not clear whether these difficult lines are an independent composition or ritual song, or are extracted from a tragedy (for which compare the description of Kotys and her orchestra in Aeschylus' *Edonians*, Nauck² 57). An intractable feature is the clearly read ὁκόσσις of l. 3, the interpretation of which as Ionic = ὁπόσσις is supported by the apparently Ionic termination]ροσην in l. 10. This points to an otherwise unparalleled Ionic use of this rhythm, possibly dictated by the subject matter.

177 (Mummy A). Consists of two fragments of hexameters, the first giving the beginnings of lines, in a rough, medium-sized round book-hand to be assigned to the latter part of the third century B.C. The papyrus is badly rubbed and stained, and dotted letters must be regarded as more than usually doubtful. The poem is a *Thebaid*, and the form τραχεῖαν (l. 23) shows it to be of relatively late date. Fragment i is in direct speech, and a mother (?) seems to be lamenting her son. The reference to a golden thrinax (l. 14) and to the dithyramb (l. 20) might suggest that he is Iacchos-Dionysos, and that the

story relates the search for and piecing-together of the dismembered Iacchos before his rebirth.

178 (Mummy A). Consists of two scraps written in a small capital having a tendency to cursive forms, generally similar to but a little larger in size than **26**, which may be assigned to the second quarter of the third century B.C. (c. 275-245 B.C.). The middle parts of iambic trimeters can be recognized, and the language suggests tragedy as their source.

179 (Mummy A). Seven separate fragments written in a minute capital inclined to cursive, in which γ and λ , ι and ρ (and if only part of the letter is preserved, σ and ω , π and γ) are easily confused. The hand bears a general resemblance to the Petrie *Antiope* and to P. Grenf. ii. 7 (b) (see introduction, p. v), and is to be dated early in the third century B.C., say 280-240 B.C. Its size can be judged from the fact that a column of 30 lines is crammed into a roll whose full height, preserved in fragment i, including margins at head and foot, is only 15.5 cm. Fragments i (seven lines at the top), iv and vi carry writing in a rough semi-cursive on the verso, of which that on fragment vi may be given as a specimen: ¹ ἀρετή [² μοι[. . .] ³ θορυβ[⁴ μα χάρμα [(quotation from *Od.* xix. 471 τὴν δ' ἄμα χάρμα καὶ ἄλγος ἔλε φρένα?) ⁵]πῆσαν[⁶]ταλ[.

On the recto, fragment i opens with the middles of three iambic trimeters, then moves without indicating any break into anapaests.¹ If, as is probable, they were dimeters, the line division ignores the metrical scheme, as in other third-century papyri. In the opening lines a single character, possibly a chorus-leader (l. 6), and a chorus of grizzled old men or satyrs are² talking of a γυνώρισμα, but the preserved strip soon narrows and it becomes impossible to determine either sense or metre. In the opening lines perhaps 1-3 belong to the chorus, 4-5 may do so, 6 is to be assigned to the 'leader', 7 to the chorus. Fragment ii, with openings of iambic trimeters in a second column, has a stichometric Ε = line 500 in the left-hand margin, and its contents suggest a marriage. Fragments iii and v have some reference to Heracles (ll. 50, 62) and Thebes (l. 61).

Vocabulary (which in fragment i ranges widely) and style seem consistent with a satyr play. But certain disturbing resemblances to **3** (commonly identified with Soph. *Tyro*, but see the remarks of D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i, No. 25, on the flimsiness of the grounds for the identification) must be mentioned. The resemblances are these: the hand is not unlike; these scraps also were deliberately cut up into a criss-cross pattern; while if **3** is really part of

¹ Iambics return by l. 27 at latest.

² Webster quotes *Hypothesis Euripides Medea* on Aeschylus' Διονύσου Τροφοί to show that satyrs may themselves be old.

the *Tyro*, it would be very easy to regard the γνώρισμα of 179. 1 as the notorious γνώρισμα in that play. Against supposing these pieces to be part of the same text as 3 are the following considerations: the hand seems to me to be different, being less upright and more condensed; it is not clear how Heracles and Thebes could figure in the *Tyro* except allusively; and the chorus in 179 seems to be composed of old men, that in 3 of women (l. 26).

180 (Mummy A). Consists of two fragments (of which ii is probably to be placed below, perhaps immediately below, the foot of i, col. 2), written in very small capitals, quickly and somewhat negligently formed, which may be assigned to the latter part of the reign of Philadelphus or the early years of Euergetes (c. 270–240 B.C.). The verso has been reused for accounts in a medium-sized, rough cursive. If the expansion of l. 20 is correct, the recto has parts of a comedy by Menander. Below l. 26, where the right-hand side of the column, the only part preserved, shows a space of about 4 lines, the beginning of a new play, or more probably a new scene, is to be recognized. Possibly the characters concerned were listed on the right. Possibly also, but less likely, the beginning of l. 27 gives the name of the speaker, e.g. Μοφλίων. The meaning of the large A and B written in the left-hand margin is not clear. If these letters stand as signs for characters (like the Greek letters used in the *Bembinus* of Terence), they would be unusual though not unique (cf. P. Oxy. 413) in Greek dramatic texts, and their appearance in a third-century-B.C. manuscript of New Comedy would have a bearing on the textual tradition of Terence. In the mutilated state of the fragment such a suggestion must remain hypothetical (l. 22 n.).

181 (Mummy A). Consists of three fragments written in a fine and delicate small capital, not unlike 4 in general appearance, though without the latter's archaic letter forms. The hand is, however, a little more rounded, and there are tiny serifs at the initial point of the ductus. I should therefore be inclined to assign it within the limits 260–230 B.C. The fragments are clearly comic (a purchasing scene in fragment i), from an unknown work to judge from νοσοῦσας (l. 13). The slave's name Daos (l. 2) is too common to be of much assistance. Fragment i, which is from the top of a column, has the ends, fragment ii the middles, and fragment iii (which is from the foot of a column and has an added line in a larger hand, perhaps a comment, since it is not metrical), the beginnings of iambic trimeters. All the fragments could be part of the same column, either in the order recorded, in which case the column would be over 18 cm. high; or fragment ii might give the ends of lines of which fragment iii gives beginnings. In the latter case the height of the column would be 13–14 cm. But no satisfactory join can be made on physical grounds.

176

.
] . οργ[6-7] . . ν[
] . ρρ . . μαλακή[ι] συνωιδά
 space of one line
 ~ ~] ρυς όκόσαις θεός ή μεγάλη[η]
] ης αὐλός κελαδεῖ Φρύγι[ος]
 5] . χορὸν ἐγκύκλιον νομίμως
] [. .] αι . παλάμας
] . [.] ἀπαλῶν ἰ[έ]τω
] . τύμπανον ἰάχ[ει]
 θεός (?) ἐμβαίνει ποσὶν ἀθανάτοισ
 10] . [.] ρσιην θ' ὑποπ[αί]σρατε παρθεν[ι]κάς

 5. νομίμω 6. παλαμ 10. παρθεν[ι]κάς

4. κελαδεῖ: of the flute, Eur. *Electra* 716.5. χορὸν ἐγκύκλιον: Eur. *I.T.* 429 ὅπου πενήκοντα κορᾶν Νηρήδων | χοροὶ μέλπουσιν ἐγκύκλιον.8. τύμπανον: cf. E. R. Dodds on Eur. *Bacchae* 59. The reading of the following letters is uncertain. Cf. Eur. fr. 586 Dionysus δὲ ἀν' Ἰδαν τέρεπται σὺν ματρὶ φίλῃ | τύμπανον ἐπ' ἰαχαῖς.

9. The last two lines are written in larger letters but the hand seems identical.

10. It is certainly παρθενικάς, not παρθενικαί. θ' (which joins an imperative to a preceding indicative in 3rd person) suggests that the preceding word must be a noun. α is perhaps possible for ο before σ. Therefore, for instance, ἀνά κωμ[ο]σίην, κατ' ἀρε[β]λαίην, κατὰ συμ[μ]οσίην. All of these look too long when compared with 1. 9, and there is a scrap of ink high up, one or two spaces before the ο or α, which looks like the top of a tall letter such as φ. ὑποπ[αί]σρατε cannot be regarded as more than a possible restoration.

177

Fr. i. 6.5 × 9 cm.

.
 τω[
 ἦ τετιγ[
 ἦ ου[.] . . . [
 . ωντ[. . .] γον κα[
 5 πῶ[ς 3-5] ἀρξρ . [
 ἦρ' ἔτι πον . [
 Βοιωτοὶ πλά . . . [
 VOL. II

Fr. ii. 2.5 × 9.5 cm.

.
] τιν[
] [
 Βο]ιωτῶ[ιν (?)
 20] διθυρα[μβ
] . εἰς πα[
] χαριεστατ[
 . .] τραχείαν [

C

[α]αἰ ἐγὼ σοο τέκν[ον	.]ἱμα [
πλώσας . . ο . . ηδ[	25]δοσ[.]κ[.]τε[
10 [. .]ον ξπεσχ' ὑπ[	]αυν[
ἦδη δὴν ἐκάλυψ[	]ινκ[
[.] σαυ[τὸ]μ μὲν ἔρα[πτον (?)	] . . . [
[σ]ημύνας χαίτη[ν	
[θ]ρίνακι χρυσεῖη[ι	
15 [. . . .]π[. .]δ' ἐψύχε[το	
	]καὶ π[
.	

8. The first syllable of αἰαί is long in Aesch. *Septem* 787. The line recalls Eurycleia's exclamation, *Od.* xix. 363 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ σοο, τέκνον, ἀμήχανος.

14. [θ]ρίνακι: cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 114; Jane Harrison, *JHS* (1903), p. 304. A thrinax has recently been recognized by Mrs. A. D. Üre as the forked implement held by a youthful god identified as Iachos-Dionysos on a pyxis of the fifth century (*JHS*, lix (1949), p. 18), of Corinthian manufacture (*JHS*, lxii (1952), p. 121), though the identification is contested by H. J. Rose (*ibid.*).

178

Fr. i. 3 × 6 cm.

Fr. ii. 2 × 4 cm.

.	
] . οὐκ ἔμ[	] . . . τω[
] . ωι Ζεὺς α[	]κεν ἐγγ[
] πάροιθεν . [.] . . . [	] . ενθα . . [
≡ - - - - - ἄ]προτρέψειε ταυ[	15]οχθος ου[
5 ≡ - - - - -]ος [ἄ]ξίας ὑπέρ λ[	] μαστιγο[
≡ - γέ]νωνται δ' 'Ιλί ^{αν} γαιω[	.] . ιπα[
≡ - - - - -] Πλούτῳνος εὐχ[	.] . τουδ[
≡ - - - - -] ἀκτῖνα δε[	. .] . οσα . [
≡ - - - - - ἄν]δρα τόνδε τ[	20 . . .]ηδε[
10 . .] . κα . . νηβη[	
6] . το . [	
.	

4. τω[might be read at end of the line.

Fr. i. 5·5 × 15·5 cm. Plate III

- ≈ - φ]έρεις γνώρισμα κα[ι
 ε]ί σαφή δερκόμεθα . [
- ≈ - . γ . .] . βεις σπουδῇ γε λαμβ[αν
 .] . . ἐν αἰτοῖς ἀλγεσιν ἡδὺ τ . .]
- 5]υ πέμψαντας ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ . [
- .] καὶ ἰσθλίκ' ἔμοι χρόνον [
- .]ντες πολλοὶ πολὺν φα[
- .] . . γηραιοῦ βήματος ορ[
-]ταδεῖν . [. . . .] ως ακ[
- 10] [. .]οικρο[
-] ταῖς ἡμετ[έrais
-]ραν μυστ[ηρι
- . . . γ]άρ ἔτ' ἔστι [
-]σα δίαυλο[ν
- 15] χειρὶ πλα[τεΐαι
-] σύνθημα [
-]ωρ' ὅδε ταμ[
-]λων κατ[
-]δαρτον η[
- 20]στειψα βο[
-]ς χήνες . [
-] . νδ' ἐν μεγ[
- . . .]ρω γνησιο[
- . . .] φίλοις ἀπ[
- 25 . . .] ρως λεγετ[
- . . .]υ βίλῃς ασ[
- ε]ὶ ὠδῖαν ὠφ[
- εἰ]σορώων [. . .]νσ[
- .]τα[. . . .] . . . [
- 30]λε[. . .] .

Fr. ii. 6.5 × 3.5 cm.

Col. i

. . .
] . ν
] . μοι
] δίκην
] ερεϊς

Col. ii

.
 35a . τ[
 35 ε θανμαστ[
ε δράσειεν οδτος [
 κενήν δὲ ἄμιλλαν [
 [. .] . την τίθεσθαι μ[
 [.] ε γημασθ[

Fr. iii. 2 × 6.5 cm.

.
 40] η . [.] [
] . εσαι βρο[
] . ελλα . [
] μος σοι τ[
] . ις τρὺς [
 45] σεμνόν [
] λέοντα . [
] αιον τεθ[
] σεν ὡς αγ[
] ἐξάγων . [
 50] Ἡρακλείου [
] ἐδοξαν ωι[
] θεν δίχα [
] ὄρας π[

Traces of a further line

.

Fr. v. 3.8 × 2.5 cm.

.
 . .] . τρν[
 60 ἐλ]άσσονος τη[

Fr. iv. 3.5 × 3.2 cm.

.
 Traces of two lines
] . την . . ω[
 55] ρα καὶ σὺν δω[
] ἐπεὶ γε δε[
] ορειν ἄβο[
] . . . [

Fr. vi. 3.5 × 4 cm.

.
 65 . . [
 . [. .] . [. .] . . [

. . .] Κάδμου γὰ[ῖα
] 'Ἡρακλείοις πα[.]αγ[
] . τ' ἐκεῖνον δ[.]οῖν[
] . . [.] . [

. [.] ρω . ριθ[
 . το . εμ[
 Traces of two further lines

Fr. vii. 3 × 2.5 cm.

.
 . [.] . . νοπ[
 70 . . ᾶ]λλωσ[
 . .] . . βλεπ[
 . .] . εν δορ[
] . . δὲ τρῶ . [

3. E.g. [τοὺς εὖσε]βείς σπουδῇ καὶ λαμ[βάνειν ἐχρήν].

4. ἄγγειον is a less probable reading. I cannot verify the possibility of ἡδύ τι at the end.

12. Possibly]αν should be read.

17. At the end the last letter might also be read as λ[or π[.

22. The last letter might also be read as π[.

180

Fr. i. 6.5 × 9 cm.

Col. i
] βλέψας ἐπεὶ
]ει κακουργίας
] . . [. .]ασμένον
]τε
 5]ειν
] . στρας κόρην
] κακῶς
]ως
 one line lost
 10] . [.] . .
]ρας θανεῖν
]ελων



Col. ii
 20 ἀσυλλόγισ[τόν ἐστιν ἡ πονηρία
 εἰ δὲ μολ[
 A βάψας [
 λαβῶν [
 [.] . μμ[
 25 ὥστε [
θετ[
 space of four lines
Μοσ[

	] γένος	μρ . [
	]λητον τέφραν	π[
15	]ενοι	30 επ[
	σ]ηναρμόσας	εστω[
	one line lost	B επ[
	] . s	εκτ[
	]ν	. η[
	.	.

Fr. ii. 3·6 × 3 cm.

Col. ii

Traces of a first column

.	.	.
35	. ιηι . [	
	νόμος . [	
	ἥρωες . . [	
	τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς (?)	
	ἐξ ὧν σ . [	
40	μηθεὶς τ[	
	[.] . [.] . επη[	
.	.	.

20. Menander fr. 768 Kock = Körte + 482 (from Stobaeus ii. 6), from a play whose title is not known.

22. The letter A here does not coincide with a paragraphus, B at l. 32 does. In the first case, change of speaker might occur in the middle of a line. At l. 25 there are marginal marks which are probably not to be interpreted as a letter corresponding to the paragraphus. At l. 27 the paragraphus need not imply change of speaker.

24. Instead of μ[, ν[or π[might be read.

25-6. The marginal mark I take to be a coronis, because of the perpendicular line which runs through it. But it might possibly be a stichometrical Δ = line 100 of the play.

27. Οτ μοι[.

181

Plate III

Fr. i. 5 × 7·5 cm.

Fr. ii. 3 × 5 cm.

]ρης ἀπω[λεσ
]ο Δᾶρος ἀπ[ἀγορᾶς (?)
 .] . [ο]ύκ ἴδ[
]ον ἔχων [

.

 φρο]ντίξεν ἐμ[έ
 .]ου πράξον[τα

5	]το[. .] . α[. .]ται				...]νκο[
	ο]ν θέλω[ν]	20		] . εμ . . υ[	
	]α δραχμῶν εἵκοσι			] . ρθη τι βαρτ[	
	] . μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπίον			]ο . . σμ . . υς . [	
	]ν γὰρ δώδεκα			] . [. .] [	
10	]ενοι σοφοί			. ἀνα]γκαζω[	
	] Δάναος ποτάμιος	25		]ορ[	
	] . με τῶν χαλκῶν ἄδρας				
	]ναι νοσσάδας				
	τῇ]ς ἀπλήστου κοιλίας				
15	]ύσομαι				

Fr. iii. 4.5 × 6.5 cm.

10	]τιστε [
7	]να πανω[
7	ὀ]λέθρων σωιζ[
7	π]αράνοιαν ο[
30	8]ρακούσσει[
6	λ]έληθας κατα . [
	]τευσον ἐλθὼν ας . [
	εἰ τεύξομ' αὐτῆς ἀπο[
	οὐ τεύξομ' αὐτῆς πα[
35	8]σοῦτος μ[
	κράτιστον αὐτ . [

(2nd hand) πρ]οστάτ[η]ν παράξων

28.]λέθρων Pap., where ε with acute accent has been inserted, correcting another letter.

8. Before μὰ traces of two lines which appear to converge obliquely downwards to the right at the foot. Possibly]ε (e.g. οἶδα μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπίον), but neither]ε nor]ο can be excluded.

11. Webster suggests that Δάναος ποτάμιος may be an eel. 'Eels were worshipped in Egypt where Danaos came from, cf. Antiphanes 147 Kock (Athenaeus 299 e) and cost at least 12 dr. (cf. l. 9). Danaos had 50 daughters: in Aristoph. *Ach.* 883 the eel is *πρόβειρα πενήκοντα Κοπῶδων κορῶν*.'

182. LIFE AND APOPTHEGMS OF SOCRATES

Mummy 69 and 70.

Plate III (*fr. (g)*).

c. 280–250 B.C.

This text consists of some forty scraps, some of which can be put together. Reading is difficult because the ink is often faded or effaced, while the surface is covered with misleading offsets of ink no doubt arising from the pasting of the pieces together to form cartonnage. In many places interlinear additions and corrections (the work of the same scribe) add to the difficulties. The hand is a large, rough documentary cursive, the work of a quick and practised scribe. Apart from one coronis there are no other marks of punctuation than the paragraphus indicating, usually in conjunction with a space in the line, the close of each sentence. The hand is to be assigned to the first half of the third century B.C., 250 B.C. being the latest acceptable date. This palaeographical assessment is supported by the fact that the verso of the roll was later used for writing, some time before the work was pulped into cartonnage c. 240 B.C. This mummy offers other early specimens of writing, e.g. 27, and the latest dated documents from it, 34 and 73, are of 243 B.C. The writing on the verso is too obliterated to read, being mainly covered with plaster which it would be dangerous to try to remove; two narrow columns can be made out on the verso of fragment (*a*), and parts of two broader columns on verso of fragment (*f*). There is no reason to suppose that it had any connection with the text on the recto. Unfortunately, in the attempt to read it, the painted pattern was scraped off at the time of discovery, and with the pattern disappeared the external evidence for the order in which the fragments should be arranged. A few can be fitted together with the help of joins in fibres or *κολλήματα*, and the larger pieces (fragments (*a*) to (*h*)) have been arranged according as the papyrus ranges in colour from brown to dirty grey. But for cartonnage such a criterion cannot be relied on. If the pieces forming fragment (*f*) have been rightly joined, the height of the roll was over 22 cm. The column was fairly narrow. In fragment (*a*) it varies between 15 and 21 letters per line, the average being 18.

In fragment (*a*) some strangers arriving in Athens from abroad at the time of the Dionysiac festival are about to call on Socrates. Xanthippe, the dutiful housewife not the shrew, is concerned about their entertainment, and is reassured by Socrates. In fragment (*b*) Socrates is questioned about his livelihood: is it sufficient to allow him to live as a gentleman? In answer he puts forward a view of money and riches—that they are a support against the buffets of fortune, a stay in sickness and a prop for old age. The succeeding fragments extend the discussion to the nature of desires, which are repeatedly

characterized as vicious (*μοχθηραί*), and mention is made of 'possession by vicious desires' (*κατοχή [ὑπὸ] μοχθηρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν*, ll. 128-9). The best remedy for the wise man lies not in reason (*λόγος*) but in habituation (*ἐθισμοί*, ll. 140 ff.). For the wise man desires may be vicious because prejudicial to himself (ll. 149 ff.). It is possible that the discussion went on to a definition and classification of pleasures.

The story about Xanthippe and Socrates told with easy artistry in fragment (a) reappears in Diog. Laert. ii. 34 in the following bald condensation: *καλέσας ἐπὶ δέσπονον πλουσίου καὶ τῆς Ξανθίππης αἰδομένης ἔφη 'Θάρρει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴην μέτριος, συμπερινεχθεῖεν ἂν· εἰ δὲ φαῦλοι, ἡμῖν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μελήσει'.* Diogenes names no source for this story, but it is probable that he found it in one of the Hellenistic compilations on which he relied (cf. Schwartz in *RE*. v. 738 ff.), and that it was already paraphrased when he adopted it. The words are altered: only the last four words given in 182 survive, while the double *χαρίεντες* is dropped and replaced by *μέτριοι, φαῦλοι*. Diogenes' sources, however, may have given the story because they had good ancient authority for it, and it is hard to conceive that that authority is not the work represented by the papyrus. If it is, 182 is probably the work of some respectable writer, but I cannot with confidence assign it to any author.

Opinions on the attribution must of course be conditioned by the view taken of the genre to which the piece belongs. At first sight that genre appears to be anecdotal dialogue, written in the third person, with an occasional reference to tradition. In its use of question and answer, and in general development it might be regarded as approximating to the methods of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, in that Socrates is depicted as meeting associates, questioning or being questioned by them, and developing a philosophical position on a certain topic, but not proceeding to philosophical analysis. If this view of the work as a dialogue is accepted, then according to Panaetius' canon (Diog. Laert. ii. 64 'the only genuine "Socratic" dialogues are those by Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes and Aeschines, with a possible doubt about Phaedo and Euclides') the only author worth serious consideration is Antisthenes.

I forbear, however, to make out a case for Antisthenes' authorship. The use of *λέγεται* (l. 2 n.) and the choice of an anecdote in which Xanthippe makes her literary bow make it hard to believe that the papyrus text is the work of a contemporary or pupil of Socrates; they point to the interests of a century later. Similarly vocabulary and the subjects of controversy (see ll. 10, 25, 139 notes) seem to be those of the later fourth century rather than the fifth. It is wiser, therefore, to attend to the hint offered by ἀποφθεγμάτων (ll. 90-1 n.), and to suppose that 182 belongs to the class of literature, known mainly at

second hand, which was a mixture of biography and striking sayings. No doubt its form is influenced by the dialogue, whose final stage it may be regarded as representing (Panaetius' 'false' Socratic dialogues, in fact). Such is the form, for instance, in a Vienna papyrus of the first century B.C. published by C. Wessely in *Festschrift f. Th. Gomperz* (Vienna, 1902), pp. 67-74, which contains parts of eleven anecdotes about Diogenes the Cynic. Apophthegms of Simonides published in 17 were derived from the same mummy as 182, and perhaps therefore from the same library. The meagre remains of Herculaneum papyrus 558 + 495 published by W. Crönert in *Rh. Museum*, N.F. lvii (1902), pp. 285 ff. appear also to have contained a life of Socrates, and one column is headed Σωκράτους Ἀποφθέγματα. Such (or *περί τοῦ Βίου καὶ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων Σωκράτους*) may have been the title of 182.

A certain Cynic tone appears in the papyrus, both in the discussion of wealth and poverty (cf. the title of Teles' diatribe, pp. 24 ff. Hense), and in the condemnation of desires as vicious. The allusion to *φύσις* in ll. 181 ff. is another Cynic commonplace. Perhaps these features should not be stressed too strongly in what is a work of popularization, though they are consistent with the attitude of contemporary Cynics, who were also (though admittedly mainly through use of the diatribe) the great popularizers of their day. But their existence makes attribution difficult; they seem to rule out Aristoxenus, whose *βίος* of Socrates is well attested¹ (frs. 51-60 Wehrli), and probably also Menedemos of Pyrrha (Menedemos no. 8 in *RE*), in whose *Philocrates* Socrates constantly referred to his father as a stonemason; while the major Cynic figures of the fourth century, Crates and Diogenes, are not known to have entered this field of literature.

Frag. (a)

Col. ii

Col. i	[,] τα μ[
.	Ἀθήνας λέγεται τῇν
]..	Ξανθίππην εἰπεῖν τῷ
]ν	Σωκράτῃ συν[ωρ]ήσασα τ[ᾶ]
.	5 στρώματα καὶ π[οτ]ήρια,
	[ἥδη ἦκ]ορσιν οἱ ξ[ε]νοί.
	οὐ σ[υνχωρ]εῖν [μο]ι οὐθέν

¹ In any case, these fragments are too sober and moderate in tone to square with Aristoxenus' scurrilous chronicle.

δε[ι, ἔφη,] ὃ Ξανθίππη, οὐ δ[ι]
 ἀκῆ[δε]ι τούτων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ[ρ],
 10 ἔφη, εἰσὶ χαρ[ίεντ]ες, οὐθὲν
 αὐτοῖς διοίσει μετέχε[ιν]
 τῶν παρόντων. εἰ δὲ
 μὴ εἰσι χαρίεντες, ἐμο[ι]
 αὐτῶν οὐθὲν μελήσει.
 15 ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη βουλομ[έ-]
 νη εἰς Διονύσια ἐξέ-
 λθειν [.]ν . . . [. . .]
 [. . .]ν [9]ν . [. . .]

4. 1. συγχωρήσαν.

12. ε of εἰ written over two oblique strokes λ.

Frag. (b)

Col. iii

Traces of ends of lines at the top of the column

	Col. iv		Col. v	
	ἔτ[ι] εἰ Σωκράτει χρήμα-		. [.] . . [	
	ἀπὸ ταύτης χρήμα-		35 ἀλλὰ [. .]τ[ι]	
20	τ[α] λαμβάνοντι ἐξήν ἑλεν- τα λαμ-		κατ[ι]	
	θ[έρ]ω[ι]ς ζῆν καὶ μὴ ἐπι- βάνον-		ἔφη α[ι]	
	[πόν]ως διαιτ[ᾶσθ]α[ι] . [.] . [.]		ἄ μαιρ[άκιον]/	
	\\ μνη[.] /		θεωρ[ι]	
	[τόν] πλούτον κ[αὶ] χρήμ[α-]		καὶ π[ι]	
	[τα] εἰς τὰ ἐκ [τῆ]ς τύχης		40 ψυχῇ . [	
	\\ [.] εἰς των /		στης ακ[ι]	αὶ-]
25	[ἀκλ]ηρήματα ν		σχωρῶν	
	[ἐπι]κούρους. [ὡς]αὐτως δὲ		Σωκρά[της]	
	[εἰς] τὰς νόσους, <i>blan</i> k		ἔφη αὐ[το]	
	[5-6] καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ γή-		45 εἶναι . [	
	[ρω]ς ἀσθένειαν. εἰ τις οὖν,		ἄκ[ι]	
30	[ἔφη, ἐ]πιθυμεί μὲν τινα ἀγα-			

37. blot before ἔφη.

[θά .] . . ν . ρα τοῦ συν-	\\ἀγα[θ/	οὐκ α[
Traces of two further lines		εἰ εκτ[
.		τοσιμ[
		50 οὐδης [
		σεως [
		.. [
		. .

Frgs. (c) + (d)

	Col. vi		Col. vii	
	. . .		. . .	
	] .		[έ]καστ[	
	]		ὅταν Σωκράτ[	
55	]εις		ἐπιστήμης [	
	] πάντα		εἰ πλούτῳ [	χρή-]
	] . ου καὶ	80	ματα μὲν α[	κα-]
	π]λουσι-		θάπερ καὶ τ[	
	ἐπι]υμῖαν		τὰ δὲ χ[ρ]ήμ[ατα	
60	] . ξῖον		τ' ἐπιβουλ[	
	]ρις μόνοις		νος ἔστι [	
	]τα νομίζειν	85	effaced	
	τ]ῶν χρημά-		\\διέκ/	
[των] . . . ον . .			τα . . . φρ[	φ-.]
Traces of 2 lines			βριζόμεν [	
] ἄριστῃ ἤτις			[έ]πιβ[ο]ν[λ[	
[περιέχε] το δίκαιον		90	ἐπὶ δὲ τα . [	ἀπο-]
] σοφίας τοίνυν			φθεγμάτω[ν	
70	μ]ετὰ δικαίον		περὶ ἐκάστ[τ	
λα]μβάνειν. ἀλλ' εἰ			μὲν σφας λέγ[εται	ἀναγ-]
\\τά/			κ[αί]α τὴν α[	
]ουσιν χρομήα-			95 ποτε λαμβ[	
[τα] . ἀντα τὸν γερύ-			λακ . ν . [	

	[μενον] ὥφελείσθαι	μου κ . . [	
75	] <i>splace</i>	τα ὄντα φ[	ήν-]
		<u>σχύνθη</u> [	

Perhaps foot of column

Frag. (e)

	Col. viii		Col. ix
			
100	] ,	110	. [
	] <i>καὶ</i>		<u>ἔφη</u> αὐ[τ
	] <i>καὶ Σόλων</i>		<i>ώσαι[τως δέ</i>
	. .] . ν <i>φησιν</i>		<i>οἱ ἀπορ[ούντες</i> <i>πραγμα-</i>
105	. . .] . . . <i>χρήμα-</i>	115	<i>ε . κα . [</i>
	[τα . . .] . .		<i>οι τ . . [</i>
	Traces of 3 more lines		. <i>επι[</i>
			[. .] . . [
			

Frag. (f)

	Col. x		Col. xi
			
			[e.g. <i>ἐπά-</i>]
120	. . <i>εἰ]πεῖν</i> [. .]		<i>γενὶ δὲ τὰς [μάχας καὶ τὸν]</i>
	\ <i>ἡμῖν, ἔφη</i>		<i>πόλεμον. splace [</i>
	] <i>σοιου-</i>		<i>ἀλλὰ μὴν π[ᾶσα μοχθῇ-</i>
	] <i>τοιαύτης</i>		150 <i>ρὰ ἐπιθυμ[ία βλαβερὰ]</i>
	] <i>τε με φυ-</i>		<i>έστιν, βλα[βεράν δὲ ἐπι-]</i>
	\ <i>λυ. . μα. /</i>		<i>θυμίαν οὐ[χρὴ ἔχειν τοὺς]</i>
	<i>πειρ]άσσομαι</i>		<i>φρονίμου[ς. ἐνίας]</i>
125	] <i>γερ</i>		<i>δὲ λέγετ[αι</i>
	] <i>χον ηἰ</i>		155 <i>τῶν ἐπιθ[υμιῶν</i>
	]		<i>ἀναγκαί[ας</i>
	] <i>εἶναι κατοχὴν [ὑπὸ]</i>		<i>εἰ[α]ῖ ἐπ[εἰ</i>
	[<i>μοχθ]ηρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν</i>		<i>μον[</i>
130	] . . . <i>ἔχοντες μο-</i>		

[χθηρ]ὰς ἐπιθυμίας.	.. [	160 οὐκ αἰ[σχρ	ἐπι-]
[ὄπω]ς δ' εἰδῇ ἀφεῖνα[ι, φ]ησὶν	160 οὐκ αἰ[σχρ	θυμίας ρ[	πε-]
[ὁ Σ]ωκράτης, ἐπιθυμι-	ριεχοντ[	ἀναγκα[	
[ὦν τήν α]ὐτοῦ φύσιν, [δ]μοίω-	ὀρίζουσ[ι	τὰς ἡδο-]	
135 [ς] μοχθηρὰς [.] . εἰν	165 νὰς οὐκ [		
. . .] . . [. .] . . . τὸν δὲ	δεῖν τα[		
.] τινο[ς]	δε ποιεῖ [		
εἰ ο]ὖν διὰ τοῦ λόγου	δουλου . [		
[αἰ] μ[οχ]θηραὶ ἐπιθυμίαι	σπασατ[		
140 [μῆ] κρίνονται πῶς ὁ Σω-	170 εἰ δὲ μῆ [		
[κρ]άτης σοφῶν μοχθηρὰς	\ λθ[		
[ἔπαυ]σεν ἐπιθυμίας. <i>space</i>	σθαι πα[		
[ὁ δ]ξ διὰ τοῦ λόγου μέν,	ρκαγ . . [		
[ἔφη, οὐ κωλ]ίμη γίνεται, διὰ δὲ	σθαι σπ[		
145 [τ]ῶν ἐθισμῶν. <i>space</i>	καὶ αἰ[		
Probably foot of column	175 μεγα[		
	αἶ[		
	. [		
	Probably foot of column		

Frag. (g)

Col. xii

Minute traces of the ends of lines

Plate III

Col. xiii

.
 [3-4] ἀπιστ[οῦντες μῆ]
 οὐ τύχῳσι πλ[ησιμονῆς]
 180 ὑπερπύμπαν[ται· ὥστε βι-]
 ἀξεσθαι τὴν φ[ύσιν πα-]
 ρὰ τὸ προσῆκον. *space* [εἰ γὰρ]
 ὑπερμεμίζοντ[αι τήν]
 [α]ὐτῶν φύσιν βι \ α / ζ[όμενοι (?)

185 [κ]αὶ ὑπὸ τῶν \τ/ εμα[
 [. . .] . 'Ἀσσοχαριος οὐκ [
 [οὐ]δὲ τρυπτον ἔχε[ιν
 [8 Σ]ωκρα[τ

Frag. (h)

Col. xiv
 Head of Column
]λωκεν τὸν
 190 .] .] εἰν αὐτῶι
] χεῖρον
] . δψιν
] . . της
] μρον
 195] . ν

Col. xv
 οὐθ' οὕτως ἀλ[λὰ διὰ τὸ]
 ἔχειν μοχθηρ[ᾶς ἐπιθυ-]
 μίας ἔτι δὲ [
 εἰκός ἐστιν . [
 200 [. . . .] μοντ[

199. ε of εικος corrected.

Frag. (i)

. . .
]ρα[
]ει δε . [
 Σωκρα]τάτης ι . [
]αν γρω[
 205] . ν . . . [
 . . .] . . [

Frag. (j)

. . .
] [
]τω . . [
] . ετα . [
 210] περιεχ . . [
]τα κα . [
 \εα/
]τι καθημερ[
]ενωι πτυ[
] Σωκρατάτη[
 215 . .] ἔθηκεν [
 Probably foot

Frag. (k)

. . .
 . .] . [. .] . . [.
]ειδης ομ[
 τ]ῶν πραγμάτ[ων
]εως δεδοι[κ
 220 Σωκ]ράτην ω[
 . .] παρ' αὐ[τ
]σομῆ[
]ῃ[
 . . .

Frag. (l)

. . .
] . . [. .] . [.
 225 Σ]ωκράτης [.
]σαντα ερ[
]ν θανμασ[
] εἰσόψετ[αι
 . .] . πληρ[
 230 .]της κατ[
]ετ[ε . . [.
 . . .

Frag. (m)

. . .
] . ταῖ
 κατ]ασχεῖν
] . σ μῆ
 235]ντων
] καὶ εἰ
]υσ[. .] .
]οθεν
 \α/
 ὄν]ομαστῆν
 240] .
 .

Frag. (n)

. . .
 εἰ]πεν τ[
]εστερ . [.
 . . .

Frag. (o)

. . .
]νκ[. .] . [.
] λοί[. .] . [.
 245 . .]ν[
 . . .

Frag. (p)

Col. i

. . .
] ἀπὸ
 \...../
]αί εἰς
].σο

Col. ii

. . .
 . [.
 φησ[ί
 255 εἰτ[
 δ[

].
 250]ν
]νος
]εν
 .

εεκ[

. .

Frag. (g)

. . .
 . . .] . . [.
]αρ αὐτ . [.
 260] . ν εἰς τὰς [.
 . .] . . [.
 . . .

Frag. (r)

. . .
]ς λ . [.
]τοτ[
] ἐλευ[θερ(?)
 265] δὲ τοῖς [.
]οὖς ἐκτ[.
]σεντ[
]ενα[
] . . [.
 . . .

Frag. (s)

. . .
 270] . [.
] . [.
]η . [.
]ντοῖς [.
 ο]δν εσ[
 275]να[
]\θα[
] . ε κ[
 . . .

Frag. (t)

. . .
 . . .] . [.
]μην πε[
 . .]ου[
 280 . .]ων[
 . . .

Frag. (u)

. . .
ρρς . [.
 ὁ ἀνθ[
 . . τ[
 . . [.
 . . .

Frag. (v)

. . . .
 285] . . . εἰδ[
 δ]νόματα [
 .] . ι . . [

Frag. (x)

. . . .
 λ]ογ[
]τερω
] . θενεσ[
 . .]τ . [
 295 . . .] . [

Frag. (z)

. . . .
] . λοψ[
]θεισ[
] τα[
 . .

Frag. (bb)

. . . .
 310]δε . [
]και . [
]τας κολ[
]νεπ[
 . .

Frag. (w)

Top margin preserved

Blank . [
 . [
 290]εξυπ . . [

Frag. (y)

. . . .
]μεν
]ειν . [
]ροι [
]κο . [
 300 . . .] . [
 . .]ξυι
 . .

Frag. (aa)

. . . .
 305] . λα[
] . συζ[
]ν επ . . [
]εχ . [
] . . [
 . .

Frag. (cc)

. . . .
] . . [
 315]ατ[
]ε[
 .

Frag. (dd)

. .
]ν . [
]αρε[
] . τ[
 . .

Eight more tiny scraps

Frag. (a). Col. ii

2-17. ' . . . to Athens, it is said that Xanthippe called out to Socrates as she allowed him the cushions and the dishes, "The foreigners are here". "Xanthippe," said Socrates, "there is no need to allow me anything, don't put yourself out for these visitors. If they are cultured people, it will not disturb them to share in what is going; if they aren't cultured, I shan't be interested in them."

'Then Xanthippe, wishing to go out to the Dionysia . . .'

2. Xenophon also uses λέγεται to introduce anecdotes of Critias and Alcibiades, *Mem.* i. 2. 20 and 30.

4. συχ[ωρ]ήσαας: the reading of the termination is not certain. The confused syntax may be due to the writer's having thought he had written λέγεται ἢ Ξανθίππη above.

10. χαρίεντες: the sense given to this word is the same as in Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1095 a 18, where οἱ χαρ. are opposed to οἱ πολλοί.

Frag. (b). Col. iv

19-31. ' (asked) in addition if Socrates was able to earn enough money from this to live as a gentleman and not endure an existence of hardship. (Socrates answered) that wealth and money were allies against the disgraces of fortune, as against illness and also against the feebleness of old age. If then, he said, a man desires some good . . .'

19. A verb such as ἤρετο is assumed to have preceded.

20. ελευθ[έρ]ω[s]: cf. the question of Antiphon the sophist in Xen. *Mem.* i. 6. 3.

ἀπὸ ταύτης: τῆς ἐργασίας (Socrates' trade as stonemason) or τῆς τέχνης (profession as sophist)?

21. ἐν[πίν]ως: that πόνος was a good was an important feature of Antisthenes' teaching. Cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 1. 2 καὶ ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθὸν συνέστησε διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἡρακλείους καὶ τοῦ Κύρου; Stobaeus iii. 29, 65.

At the end of the line presumably a verb such as εἶπεν or ἀπεκρίνατο, but nothing can be recognized.

23. πλοῦτων: cf. Antisthenes in Xen. *Sympos.* iv. 34 ff. νομίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν πενίαν ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς.

25. [δικλ]ηρήματα: the word is used several times by Teles, e.g. p. 18. 12 Hense δυνεῖδος καὶ ἀνέλημμα.

The first letter of the following word might be μ, but the space is too long for, e.g., μ[άλλω]ν or μ[έτω]ν.

49. e.g. -τος ἰμ[ατισμός], or a verb termination -το followed by proper name (e.g. Σμ[υ]μίαι).

Frgs. (c) + (d). Cols. vi and vii. Fragment (s) is to be placed at the head of col. vii, and joins with the following results:

(Fr. s, l. 275)

(Col. vii, l. 76) [ε]καστ[α] ε[ι] σ[]

90 ff. If ἀπο[φ]εγγμάτω[ν] is right, the coronis at l. 93 suggests that a new section dealing with individual sayings began at that point. *Exempli gratia* one might restore ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ εἴπερα τῶν ἀπο[φ]εγγμάτω[ν] Σουκράτους περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν τραπῶμεν. On ἀποφθεγγματα as a literary form see T. Klauser in *Klauser's Real-lexikon f. Antike u. Christentum*, s.v. The term is first attested, interestingly enough, in Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 56, referring to the last words of Theramenes.

Frag. (e). Cols. viii and ix. The ends of lines 100–9 are written very small, and may be marginal corrections or notes. The reference to money and the possibility that Solon is quoted as a type of the σάφρων who is superior to wealth as well as other passions might suggest that this fragment should be placed before frgs. (c) + (d).

113. Or οἷα πο[]όντες.

Frag. (f). Cols. x and xi. These columns have been reconstructed from several smaller pieces on the basis of the writing on the verso and a ἀλλήγημα.

128. [σῶε]: there are traces of ink, and the space seems to demand a word here. The metaphor is a strong one. The characterization of ἐπιθυμία as μοχθηραὶ as μοχθηραὶ is not irreconcilable with the third class of ἐπιθυμία as defined by the Platonic Socrates in *Rep.* 571 B τῶν μὴ ἀναγκαίων ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν δοκοῦσι τούτῳ μοι εἶναι παράνομοι: but Plato treats such desires as the attribute of the τυραννικὸς ἄνθρωπος, in these fragments they mark even the desires of σοφοί. Xenophon, speaking in his own person, refers in *Mem.* i. 2. 24 to τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, in i. 2. 64 to τοῖς πομπῆς ἐπιθυμίαις ἔχοντας.

130. Not ἐπὶ γυναικας. Restoration must take account of the alternation of singular and plural here and in the following lines (εὐθὺ 132; αὐτοῦ 134; τὸν δὲ 136; σοφῶν 141).

132. Absence of a adscript from εὐθὺ is tolerable in view of other faults in this text (e.g. l. 4 συγχωρήσασα). Otherwise divide δει δὲ.

137. The fragments have been manipulated to make a join at this point, and it is not absolutely certain that ll. 136 and 137 immediately follow each other. One or more lines may have been lost. An introductory formula for the following question must have stood here.

139 ff. '... (someone asked) if then vicious desires are not judged by reason, how did Socrates put an end to the vicious desires of the wise? He answered that restraint comes not from reason but from habits.'

Two opposing guides to conduct, λόγος and θημοί, are being put forward as means of mastering μοχθηραὶ ἐπιθυμία. These terms and their opposition originate in the controversies of the later fourth century. See especially Aristot. *Pol.* 1332 b τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῶν ζῴων μάχιστα μὴ τῇ φύσει. ζῆ, μικρὰ δ' ἄνα καὶ τοῖς ἔθουσιν, ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ λόγος· μέγιστον γὰρ ἔχει λόγον. ὥστε δεῖ ταῦτα συμφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις: πολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἔθουσιν καὶ τῇ φύσει πράττειν διὰ τὸν λόγον, τὰν πισθεῖσαν ἄλλως ἔχειν βέλτιον, and Newman's note ad loc., that 'θημοί apparently does not occur in Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato or Isocrates, but is found in [Dem.] xvii. 27 and is frequent in Polybius'. Elsewhere in Aristotle θημοί appears in *Eth. Nic.* 1098 b 4. Xenophon's dictum, *Mem.* i. 2. 23 πάντα μὲν οὖν ἔμμεγε δοκεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ δοκῆναι εἶναι, οὐχ ἥμισυ δὲ σφροσύνη, is the author's and is not attributed to Socrates.

This antithesis of reason and habit, and the superiority of the latter, so different from the attitude of the Platonic Socrates (cf. *Phaedo* 82 B ἐξ ἑθους τε καὶ μελέτης ἀνευ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ, *Rep.* 619 c εἶθε ἀνευ φιλοσοφίας, etc.) represents a dichotomy of lasting interest in later writers. Note especially the title of Musonius v πότῃρον ἔθος ἢ λόγος ἰαχυρότερον; Epictetus iv. 7. 6 εἴτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύνανται τις οὕτως διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλλοὶ ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ καὶ ἀποδείξεως οὐδεὶς δύνανται μαθεῖν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποιήκει κτλ.; *ibid.* i. 27. 6 ἀντιθές τῷ ἔθει τὸ ἐναντίον ἔθος.

144. καλ[ό]μη: μη in this position in the clause cannot be the negative, even in interrogative form. It must therefore be part of a rare abstract in -μη. For υ, ρ, κ or φ might be read.

145. The surface of papyrus on which this line is written has been folded, so that the writing appears to be on the verso.

Col. xi, 146-52. ' . . it causes battles and warfare. Moreover, every vicious desire is harmful, and the prudent should not have a harmful desire.'

146. The restoration seems authorized by *Phaedo* 66 c καὶ γὰρ πολέμους καὶ σάσεις καὶ μάχας οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρέχει ἢ τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἱ τοῦτον ἐπιθυμίαι. The avoidance of war is also a part of the Cynic ideal. Cf. Crates' Pera poem (Diehl, *Anthol. Lyr. Gr.* 3, Crates fr. 6), 6. 7

ἐξ ὧν οὐ πολέμοισι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τούτων,
οὐχ ὅπλα κέκτηνται περὶ κέρματος, οὐ περὶ δόξης.

157. ε[ρ]ε[σ] ἐρ[ε] is also a possible reading.

Frag. (g), cols. xii-xiii, cannot be physically attached to frag. (b), but its position here is very doubtfully correct.

178-84. ' . . they gorge themselves in their distrust of reaching satiety, so that their nature is put under improper duress. For if they overload their nature under duress . . .'

179. π[λ]ηρομονῆς suggested by Prof. T. B. L. Webster. But the letter after π might also be ϕ. Cf. Antisthenes' words in *Xen. Sympos.* iv. 36-7 ὁμοία γὰρ μοι δοκοῦσι (sc. οἱ τύραννοι) πάσχειν ὥστερ εἰ τις πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπύμπλατο.

183. ὑπεργμύζον[τ]αι is cited by LSJ only from [Xen.] *Piraeus* iv. 39 (μὴ) ὑπεργμύσθῃ τὰ μέταλλα.

184. [τῇ] α[ν]δρῶν φύσιν: cf. 134. The νόμος-φύσις antithesis continued to play an important rôle in Cynic thought. Cf. *Diog. Laert.* vi. 71 τοιαῦτα διελέγετο καὶ ποιῶν ἐφάμενο (Diogenes), ὅντος νόμῳ παραχράττων, μηδὲν οὕτω τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ὡς τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν διδοῖς.

βια[σ]μένῃ is very uncertain, but βιρη would be very doubtful. The letter added above the line appears to be α.

186. The reading is almost certain, but interpretation is a puzzle. How are the letters to be divided? Neither 'Λωχάριος nor Σωχάριος are known names (supposing them to be genitives), and the form is false for Attic -ωχάριος (though note Σόχαρις in MSS. of Cratinus the younger fr. 2 Kock, where it must be emended to fit the metre).] . os (i.e. a name in -ias, -eas) ὁ Χάριος is no more capable of interpretation. A Cynic philosopher Σωχάριος is commemorated by Leonidas of Tarentum, *Epigr.* 33 Geffcken (= *A.P.* vi. 293).

Frag. (h). Cols. xiv and xv: the upper margin is preserved.

Frag. (r). Dr. Barns has joined fragments (r), (u) and (v). (r) and (v) touch, and (u) shows the same horizontal fibres. They may perhaps be combined as follows:

} ε λ . [
 } ρ σ ϕ [

Col. i

Col. ii

25 $\begin{array}{l} \text{ἐξαιρῶν [} \\ \text{διὸ φευγε[} \\ \text{παράγων [} \\ \text{ἀλλὰ ἐμφαν} \\ \text{ρον δὲ καὶ τ[} \\ \text{ἔχοντα τ[} \\ \text{τὴν πο[ῖ]ησιν} \end{array}$

30 $\begin{array}{l} [\dots] \cdot [\dots] \epsilon \alpha [\end{array}$

Plate III.

Frag. (b). 5.5 × 15 cm.

.
 .]ους τ . . [.]τα[
 .]τι τοῦτον Φιλήμων εἰσάγει
 .]ντα. *space* ἡ δ' εὐχή εἰς πᾶ[σαν ποίησιν]
 [εἰσέρχεται, ἔστιν γὰρ τοῦ προσεῖ[χεσθαι τοῦ-]
 35 [το κύριο]ν. *space* τὴν δὲ προσευχὴν [οὐκ εἰσδέχο-]
 [νται εἰς π]οίησιν, τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ δύναμιν ἔχει]
 [τῇ εὐχ]ῇ πρὸς τὸ εὐσεβεῖν. *space* ὑπερ[
 κα]τατάσσειν εἰς πᾶσαν ποίησι[ν
 . .]ναίον εἰσάγει καὶ Φιλ[
 40 6] χρηστοῖθες δοξ[
 6] θεωροῦντα τὸν α[
 6]ύχεται ἡ εἰς τὸ . [
 8] π[ρό]σωπα θεωρ[
 8] . . νος κατὰ τ . [
 45 11] πᾶσαν ποι[ησιν
 11]α ταῦ[τα] τὸ λ . [
 12]γμανεῖ γάρ [
 9 ποι]ουμένου ρ[
 12]ντον τὰς γὰρ
 50 12]ς τὰ ῥήματ[α
 13] . διὸ μὴ χρ[ῆσθαι δεῖ
 15]βολον γὰρ
 16]ρ μεν[
 16] συν . [
 55 16]εις δε[
 16]κατ[

Frag. (c). 5 × 4.5 cm.

Top

One line illegible

]ύπτει ὥστε μὴ λοι[

] καταστροφή δὲ αὐτόν μόνον [ἐν τοῖς ποιηταῖς

[ἀλλ]ὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγραφεύσιν

60

] . . [

Frag. (d). 1·8 × 5 cm.

Frag. (e). 3 × 5·5 cm.

πο]μήσεω[ς

]π . [.]εἰ . [

70 . . .]79[

]υθ[.]ρ[

Faint traces of 7 more lines

] *space* τῇν [

] . ιν ἀλλ[ἀ

65] εἰς τ[.]ν θ[

. . .] μουν . . . [

.] ορω[

] . [

. . .

Frag. (a). Col. i

The left-hand edge of this column consists of an abraded strip, not always readable, containing about 4 letters. The restorations adopted assume a loss of a further 7-10 letters to the left of it.

3-10. ' . . . that the poet may know the force of each phrase, and which to use in order to write well, which to avoid in order to be free of blame; while the layman, instructed by the poet's craft, will the easier discriminate between what is well written, and the reason why, and what badly, and in what bad writing consists. We posited eight . . . '

4.] δῆγμα: the reading is very insecure. The masculine relative οὗς in l. 5 excludes the restoration ονόματος with ἐκείνου. Possibly, as Webster suggests, λόγος is used in the sense in which Socrates in Plato, *Cratylus* 425 A, speaks of it as consisting of ονόματα and ῥήματα (subjects and predicates), cf. the more developed definition in Dionys. Thrax 11.

6. μῦθος or κρῖσις: T. B. L. Webster.

9. Of the traces at the beginning of l. 10 I can certainly identify only η (perhaps directly before ἰδέμεθα, though there would be room for a small letter such as σ or ι after it). I at first thought of restoring γν[η γάρ | πάσης ποιητ]εῖς ἰδέμεθα ὅτι εἶναι, but am now convinced that this restoration is misleading. εἴη rather than γνῆ is to be expected. Moreover, it is surprising to find so large a number of types of poetry distinguished at this early date, when Plato was content to divide into three (by μῦθος, ἀπαγγελία and δι' ἀμφοτέρων, *Respub.* 394 B-C) and Aristotle into two (μυθικὴν and ἀφηγηματικὴν, *Poetics* 1448 a 20). The figure, based on the combination of the two divisions, which eventually became classic was seven. Proclus in Photius, *Chr.* 319 a 1 and Schol. Lond. Dionys. Thrax 450. 3 list them as epic, elegiac, iambic, melic, tragedy, comedy, satyr play (cf. H. Färber, *Die Lyrik in d. Kunsttheorie d. Antike*).

There is, however, one class of things for which eight is a significant number at this period, and which is well in place here: what Aristotle, *Poetics* c. 20 calls μέρη τῆς λέξεως, or Dionys. Thrax c. 11 μέρη τοῦ λόγου, 'units of speech'. Both give eight as the total, though

Aristotle's list contains such heterogeneous examples as letter and syllable, inflexion and phrase, and only four of his total are the same as the better thought-out list of Dionysius. I would therefore suggest a restoration on the following lines, γυν[ίσθαι δ' οὖν] | [τῆς λέξεως μέρ]η ἐθέμεθα ὁκτώ, 'we posited the existence of eight units of speech'. Such a reminder would form a natural transition from the recommendation to study the force of each λόγος = phrase. A further consequence of this suggestion is that the relevant chapters of Aristotle's *Poetics*, which have often been dismissed as interpolations, are vindicated for Aristotle if 183 also discusses a (similar) number of units in an almost contemporary treatise on poetry, perhaps one emerging from Aristotle's own school.

12. ἀναποδιδόναι is quoted by LSJ only from G.D.I. 1832. 24 = 'to make good'.

13. Not φράσεων.

Fragment (b), which will not fit to the left of (a), might be placed to the right and immediately below col. ii of (a), but there is no external cogency in such a placing.

32-3. Cf. 39-40. Philemon brought characters onto the stage speaking the word in question. On the other hand, in l. 43 [π]ρόσωπα θεωρ[ί] (cf. 41), Webster supposes the reference is to the poet 'watching his characters' rather than to the 'audience' or 'the theorist'.

33-7. 'The word εὐχή is admitted into all poetry, for it is the current term for the activity of a man praying. But the word προσευχῆ is not admitted into poetry, since it has the same force as εὐχή in relation to worship.'

34. [εἰσέρχεται] : Webster.

35. Apart from this passage the earliest evidence for προσευχῆ used in the sense of εὐχή is the Septuagint (Isaiah lvi. 7).

37. ὑπερε[υχὴν] ?

40. Webster recalls Athen. 594 d Φιλόμονος γὰρ ἑταίρας ἐρασθέντος καὶ χρηστὴν ταύτην ὀνομά-σαντος διὰ τοῦ δράματος, ἀντίγραφε Μένανδρος ὡς οὐδεμῶς οὕτως χρηστῆς.

Fragment (c) cannot be attached to the right of (a) col. ii. It might of course precede frag. (b).

58. καταστροφή : for an example of use in the historians see, e.g., Thuc. ii. 42. 2.

184. LOGICAL EXERCISE (?)

Mummy 126.

Plate II.

300-280 B.C.

Parts of 10 columns contained in 4 separate fragments. Fragment (a) preserves the full height of the roll, apparently with original margins, which measures 18.5 cm. There is no external evidence for the order in which the fragments should be arranged. The note at the foot of col. ii might be thought to end a section, and therefore to deserve the final place, were it not that the following column, which is part of the same fragment, seems to continue in the same style.

The text is difficult to read because of stains and offsets of ink, but is palaeographically interesting. The hand is an ugly medium-sized square capital which has the merits of regularity and sureness and is certainly not a school hand. Its letter forms may be compared with those of the Berlin Timotheos and of 6. It has square epigraphic E, deep M, Θ made as a circle

with a central dot, while the resemblance of the ω is particularly striking. This letter is always in the epigraphic form, but is made with differing degrees of care. Sometimes it is the formal Ω , sometimes it is written cursorily so as to resemble the ω in the Timotheos. On the other hand, σ is always lunar in form. The letter forms suggest that the hand should be assigned to an early date, around 300 B.C. or the two following decades at the latest.¹ If this early date is accepted, this is the oldest example of a prose text written in the narrow, regular columns which later were characteristic of good book texts. In fragment (a), col. ii measures 5.5 cm. from the centre of the left-hand margin to the centre of the right-hand margin, and averages 16 letters to the line. Later columns are a little wider (col. iii averages 20 + letters). Punctuation is by paragraphus in conjunction with a horizontal dash inside the line, and a coronis appears in two different forms. The crasis or prodelision in $\mu\eta$ 'πιστήμων and $\mu\eta$ 'πίστασθαι (in addition to $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\upsilon$, common in Aristotle) is worth remark.

The text sets out a number of logical equivalents relative to $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\upsilon$. In col. i its first appearance is in the form $\mu\eta$ $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\nu$ = $\mu\eta$ 'πιστήμονα γίνεσθαι $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\upsilon$. This proposition is then expressed in other words ($\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ for $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$), and as it were conjugated through the aorist and perfect tenses, as well as being repeated in various forms (some of the repetitions might be removed by punctuating interrogatively). So far the text appears to be no more than an exercise in the expression of negative logical propositions about $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$. At the foot of col. ii, however, it continues $\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{o}\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ [], where $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ imply dialectic or dialogue. In col. iv there appears to follow a logical series: (1) $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\tau\iota$; (2) $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$; and therefore (3) $\mu\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\nu$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\upsilon$ = $\mu\eta$ 'πίστασθαι $\tau\iota$. But the better impression this series makes is at once effaced by its immediate repetition twice over.

The repetitiveness of the text, its puerile elaboration of the obvious, and perhaps its errors combine to suggest that it is an exercise written by a student working through a logical handbook. It is clear from the handwriting (and, one may add, the subject matter) that it is not an elementary school exercise.

¹ This is the ordinary view. Nevertheless, the archaic mode of writing may still have found exponents among individuals as late as about 250 B.C., if P. Lille 17 (i, Pl. vi), which shows these features, was written at the same time as the group of texts P. Lille 12-16 (belonging to the same family) with which it was found. It may, however, have been written at an earlier date. Perhaps, indeed, seeing that the writer is father of the principal personage in the other letters, this is more likely. Certainly it shows the hand of an older generation, probably one that was being taught in the schools about 280-270 B.C.

The second-century-B.C. discussion of negative propositions in P. Paris 3 (von Arnim, *Stoic vet. fragm.* ii. 180) is probably a similar exercise.

Frag. (a)

Plate II

Col. i

About 4 lines lost

] ν

τάγ]αθοῦ

μὴ λαμβάνειν

[τὴν τάγαθοῦ ἐπιστήμην

5 [ταῦτόν ἐστι] τῷ[ι] μὴ 'πι-

[στήμονα γίγ]νεσθαι[ι] τάγαθοῦ.

[—]

[ἀ]λλὰ μὴ ἔχειν [τ]ὴν

[τάγαθο]ῦ ἐπ[ιστή]μην

[ταῦτ]όν ἐστιν τῷ μὴ 'πι-

10 [στή]μονα γίγνεσθαι

[τάγα]θοῦ. Blank

[—]

] . . λαβε[ῖ]ν τὴν τ[άγα]-

[θοῦ ἐπιστήμ]ην τ[α]ῦτόν[α]

[ἐστιν]

15 [—]] . ἢν τάγαθο[ῦ] .]

] τὸ μὴ λαμβά-

[νειν τὴν] τάγαθοῦ ἐπι-

[στήμην τα]ῦτόν ἐστιν τῷ

[] [] εἶσθαι.

[—]

20 [7] τὸ ἄρα μὴ λαβεῖν

[τὴν] τάγαθοῦ ἐπιστήμην[ν]

[ταῦτόν ἐσ]τιν [τῷ μὴ 'πι-]

[στήμονα γε]νέσθαι []

]

Col. ii

25] . . . [. .] τὴν

[τάγαθ]οῦ ἐπιστήμην[ν]

ταῦτόν ἐστιν τῷ[ι] μὴ]

'πιστήμονα γενέσθαι

τάγαθοῦ

30 τὸ μὴ εἰληφέναι τὴν

τάγαθοῦ ἐπιστήμην

ταῦτόν ἐστιν τῷ μὴ

'πιστήμονα γεγενή-

σθαι τάγαθοῦ.

35 ἀλλὰ μητ . [. .] λαβεῖν

τὴν τάγαθοῦ [ἐ]πιστή-

μην [τ]αῦτόν ἐστιν

τῷ μὴ 'πιστήμονα γε-

γέσθαι τάγαθοῦ. \ . . . /

40 . . [. .] μὴ [. .] .

τὴν τάγαθοῦ ἐπιστή-

μην ταῦτόν ἐστιν τῷ

μὴ 'πιστήμονα γεγε-

νέσθαι τάγαθοῦ.

?

45 ὡσαύτως δὲ ἔξομεν

διε[λ]έ[γ]εσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ

τοῦ δικαί[ου] καὶ καλοῦ

καὶ [δ]ι[κ]αί[ου] παντός

Col. iii

Faint traces of 8 illegible lines

..... [. . .] τὸ ἐκκεῖμενο[ν]
 50 τὸ δὲ [μὴ λαβεῖν] τὴν . . . ἐκ[κει-]
 με[νου ἀγνοια]ν ταυτόν ἐστ[ιν]
 τῶ[ι] μ[ὴ] ἀγνοοῦν]τα γενέσθαι[ι]
 τὸ ἐκ[κεῖμε]ν[ον]—τὸ δ[ὲ] μ[ὴ]
 εἰληφ[θ]ῆ[ναι] τὴν τοῦ ἐκ[κ]ε[ι]με[ν]ου
 55 ἀγνοιαν ταυτόν ἐστιν τῶι μὴ
 ἀγνοοῦν]τα γεγενῆσθαι
 τ[ὸ] ἐκκε[ι]μ[μ]ενον.

2

Frag. (b)

Col. iv

Occasional faint traces of ends of lines, then (opposite l. 85)

τὸ ἔχειν] ἐπιστή-
 μην ταυτόν [ἐ]στιν τῶι ἐπί-
 60 στρασθ[αί] τι —] ἢ δ[ὲ] τὰ]γαθοῦ
 ἐπιστήμη ταυτόν] ἐστιν
 ἐπιστήμ[η] πᾶν — τ]ὸ μὴ
 ἔχ[ει]ν τὴν τὰγαθοῦ ἐπι-
 στήμην ταυτόν [ἐ]στιν
 65 τῶι μὴ 'πίστασθαι τι.
 [—]
 [. .] ἔχειν
 [ἐπι]στήμην ταυτόν ἐ[στι]ν

Col. v

τῶι ἐπίστασθαι[ι] τι. space
 ἡ δὲ τὰγαθοῦ ἐπιστήμη
 70 ταυ[τό]ν ἐστιν ἐπιστή-
 μην πᾶν — τὸ ἀρα μὴ
 [—]
 [ἔχειν] τὴν τὰγαθοῦ ἐπι-

Col. vi

[ἐ]πιστή[μ]ην ταυτόν]
 95 ἐστιν τῶ[ι] μὴ
 [.] . . . να[
 [.] . . . [
 τὰγαθοῦ ἐπ[ιστήμ]ην

	στῆμην ταῦτόν ἐστιν		ταυτόν ἐ[στιν
	[τ]ῶι [μῆ] 'πίστα]σθαί τι.	100	['π]ίστ[. .] . . [
75	[—] τὸ [μῆ] ἔχει]ν τὴν τὰ- [γαθοῦ ἐπιστ]τ[ή]μην ταῦ- [τό]ν ἐ[στιν] τῶι μῆ . . .		[τ]άγαθοῦ [
	.. π. — τὸ μῆ ἔχειν		[—] [ἀ]λλὰ μῆν [
	τ[ὴν] τάγα]θοῦ ἐπιστή-		τ[ὴν] τάγ[αθοῦ ἐπιστή-]
80	μη]ν ταῦ]τόν ἐστιν τῶι	105	μη]ν τα[ὐ]τόν [ἐστιν τῶι]
	μῆ] 'πί[στα]σθαι τάγαθόν.		μῆ] 'πίστ[ασθαί τι.]
	[ἀλ]λὰ μῆν τὸ μῆ ἔχειν		τὸ δὲ μῆ [
	[τ]ὴν τάγαθοῦ ἐπιστήμη<ν>		τάγαθοῦ [ἐπιστήμην]
	ταῦτόν ἐστιν τῶι μῆ 'πί-		ταῦτόν [ἐστιν τῶι μῆ]
85	στασθαί τ[ι] — τὸ δ[ρ]α		π[ι]στασθαι
	μῆ ἔχειν τ[ὴν] τ[ἀ]γαθο[ῶ]		One line illegible
	ἐπιστήμην τ[α]ὐτ[όν] ἐστιν	110	τὴν τάγα[θοῦ ἐπιστή-]
	τῶι μῆ 'πί[σ]τασθαι τάγαθόν.		μη]ν [ταῦτόν ἐστιν τῶι]
	εἴτ[α] τὸ μῆ ἔχ]ειν τὴν τὰ-]		μῆ] 'πίστασθα[ι]
90	γαθ[οῦ ἐπιστ]τήμη[ν] τὰβ-		[τὰγαθ[όν]
	τόν [ἐστιν τ]ῶι μῆ 'πίστ[τα-]		εἴτα μῆ ἐπ[
	σθα[ί τι — .] . [	115	[6] . . [
	ἔχε[ιν]		

Frag. (c)

Col. vii Parts of ends of 7 lines from the foot

Col. viii

	. . . ν α . [
	 ταῦτόν ἐ[στιν τῶι]
	ἀγνοῦντα γε[ῖ]σθαι .]
	ἀλλὰ μῆν τὸ . [
120	.. [. .] . α ι . α . [
	τῶι μῆ ἀγνοεῖν τι
	τὸ δὲ μῆ ἀγροεῖν τι τα[ὐ-]

τῷ[ν] ἔστιν τῶι μὴ ἀγν[ο-]
οὔνητά τι εἶναι — τὸ [δὲ]
 125 ἄρα μὴ ἔχειν ἄγν[οισιν]
 ταῦτόν ἐστι[ν] τῶι μὴ
ἀγνωροῦντά [τι εἶναι].

Frag. (d)

Col. ix

] . . α . η . . του . . εἴ[
] μὴ λαβεῖν ἐπιστήμ[η]ν [
 130 τ]αὐτ[ό]ν ἐστιν τῶι μὴ [
 'πισ]τῇ[μ]ογά τινος γίγ[νεσθαι]
] . . ἡν ἀγ[. .] . [
 ἔχειν ἐπ[ί]στ[ή]μην
 τα]ῦτόν ἐστιν τῶι μὴ
 135] . . . [

Col. x Faint traces of parts of 7 lines

6. The writing projects into the right-hand margin.

29. Read *τάγαθοῦ*. After this word there are marks of ink, perhaps a punctuating dash. Similarly in l. 44.

35. Not ἀλλὰ μὴν. μήτε [. .] λαβεῖν is a possible reading.

40. εἰληθέναι is to be expected, but cannot be verified, and the line itself appears to be too short. Above the end of the writing are marks of ink, perhaps belonging to an interlinear addition or correction.

45. There is a space of 3 lines between 44 and 45, and 45 is preceded by the paragraphus.

49. τὸ ἐκκείμενον = κείμενον, *positum*, as in Aristot. *Topics* i, 103 b 20 ff.

50. The traces after τῇν do not much resemble τοῦ.

56. Read γεγενῆσθαι.

100. [π]ισ[τ]ο[σ]θ[ῆ]ναι is to be expected, but cannot be verified.

117. Beginning possibly [ἀγ]νοῖαι, but it cannot be verified.

185. ETHNOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENT

Mummy A.

c. 280-250 B.C.

Parts of two or more columns of particularly brittle and abraded cartonage, pieced together with the help of the pattern still remaining on the back. The text is written across the fibres, apparently on the verso; there is no ink visible on a cleaned portion of the recto. The hand is a medium-sized, quickly-

written ugly angular capital, approximating to the type of business hand seen in P. Enteux. 1 (Plate 1) of 259 B.C., and is to be dated to about the same period. It is certainly not later than Philadelphus.

The contents contain a description of the *ὀνομαστὰ καὶ ἀξιόλογα* to be found among an unnamed people; first, some wild creature; then a complex of royal buildings (palace, treasury or tombs) with a detailed description of structure and contents, and stress on their wealth in metals and in corn, wine and oil. The very tattered fragments ii and iii appear to describe a series of statues or effigies. The dialect is the *κοινή* with the exception of a single Ionicism in l. 10. In so far as it can be judged, sentence construction is simple, not to say monotonous in its cataloguing repetition of *ἦν δὲ καὶ*.

Both style and pattern of the description give the impression that this is a piece of genuine ethnography from a work covering a large geographical area rather than a fanciful picture of a romantic Utopia such as Iambulus' island or Euhemerus' Panchaia. Constant reference to precious stones suggests a location in the Orient, for instance Arabia or India. Some slight confirmation of the last-named is offered by the list of metals, especially tin, given in ll. 14-15 when compared with Diodorus' remarks on the wealth of India, ii. 36. 2: *γίνεται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πολλὸς μὲν ἀργυρὸς καὶ χρυσός, οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος, ἔτι δὲ καττίτερος*.

The source of this particular passage in Diodorus is not known. O. Stein in *P.W.* s.v. Megasthenes points out that it is far from established that Megasthenes' account is the sole basis of Diod. ii. 35 ff., and that Megasthenes is not in fact named by Diodorus as an informant till ii. 40. Suggestions, therefore, for the identification of the author of the account in the papyrus are bound to be hazardous. One cannot, however, avoid thinking of Ctesias' *Indica*, some passages from which are cited in the notes, or the writings of Megasthenes and his contemporaries (Daimachus, Patrocles, Onesicritus, Nearchus) as likely possibilities.

Fr. i. 11.5 × 14.5 cm.

6	]ονα [	11	]ουπ[	c. 11
	κατὰ χώρ[αν ὀνομαστὰ καὶ ἀξιόλογα	6		
	] . [ἔ]ππρις τ[. . .]αρ ἄγριοι ε[	11		
	] μέσου θε[. .]ντες τοῖς ἀλ[	10		
5	]τρηλο . νων βασιλέωψ [	10		

¹ The first appearance of Ctesias (from the *Persica*) in papyri is to be found in P. Oxy. xxii. 2330.

been suggested accordingly, adjusted in proportion to the position of the right-hand edge. They must be treated as approximations, since letters differ very considerably in size.

3. $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ may be read. The supposed ρ before ϵ is not very satisfactory, and might also be either η or ω .

5. Not $\tau\omega\upsilon$ before $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ (e.g. not $\tau\omicron$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omega\upsilon$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\upsilon$), and not $\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$. Possibly a name.

10. $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ in this context, after $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\iota$, l. 7, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, l. 9, must surely be adjectival from $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ ($\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$) and not from the noun $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$. Ctesias is said by Photius (epitome 1) to have used more Ionic forms in his *Indica* than his *Persica*.

14. At end possibly repeat [$\eta\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$]. Ctesias (Photius, epitome 12) has $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\theta\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

16. Οτ βασιλικοίς .

17. $\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is a very uncertain reading.

Frr. ii and iii. These fragments seem to be describing a series of statues or effigies. L. 23: a winged figure surmounts this one; ll. 30, 33: some parts are gem-encrusted, like the sceptre held by Hera in Ctesias' description of Semiramis' temple in Babylon, Diod. ii. 9; l. 39: $\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$; l. 48: $\eta\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (?). L. 31 perhaps refers to libation bowls filled with milk.

Frag. vi: perhaps to be fitted close to lower edge of iii.

186. MYTHOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENT

Mummy A.

c. 250–220 B.C.

Two fragments (which cannot be joined) from the lower part of a roll written in a rough and slipshod near-cursive hand, similar to but (as suggested by the linking strokes in, e.g., ν) a little later than 173, and perhaps to be assigned to the reign of Euergetes. The contents are mythographical and col. iv describes an adventure in which Heracles and Jason are associated. It would be possible to restore this as the labour of yoking the bulls and slaying the earth-born men imposed by Aeetes as the condition of obtaining the golden fleece. Ancient accounts (summarized in Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1289; Apollod. i. 9. 19; cf. Diod. iv. 44. 5) of the part played by Heracles in the Argonautic expedition differed widely. More or less contemporary with this text is the tradition in Theocr. xiii. 75 $\pi\epsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}$ δ' $\epsilon\varsigma$ $\text{Κόλχους τε καὶ ἄξενον ἵκετο Φᾶσιν}$, that Heracles was present at Colchis. In the second-century-B.C. account of Dionysius Skytobrachion Heracles figured as 'leader of the Argonauts' (Apollod. loc. cit.) and co-operated with Jason in $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ Μῆδειαν (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. loc. cit.). Though the suggestion here made is not free from difficulties (cf. l. 30 n.), there is no other known episode on either the outward or return voyage of the Argo which seems to be suitable. Small fragments of another early mythographic account of the adventures of Heracles are offered by P. Petr. ii. 49 f. (Milne, *Cat. Lond. Lit.* 190). Cf. also the paraphrase of the adventures of Heracles in the second-century-B.C. text published by J. W. B. Barns, *C.Q.* xliii (1949), 1–3.

25 Ἡρακλῆς π[
 τοὺς τὰς . [
 ταχὺ καταβάλλει. ὁ δὲ Ἰάσων [ἀ]λλους
 τ[ι]νὰς τοῦ θορύβου ἀκούσ[α]ντας
 [καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνισταμένους
 30 [ἀ]πέκτειν[ε]ν. οἱ τε ἄλλοι ταῦροι
 [μ]ετὰ π[ο]λλ[ο]ὺ πόνο]ν καὶ ἀγωνίας
 [. .] . . σα . [9-10] τῶν ἀπε-

Col. v

. . .
 [. .] : {
 θαι φασ[ι] [
 35 ἴσασιν ὡς δ[
 ἄλγεα αὐ[
 σα ἢ Μῆ[δε]ια (?)
 ἐβ[ε]κεν[υ]
 λα ζ[υ]μ[ν]η (?)
 40 ἀν[

11. Possibly φρονίμων, but there seems to be space for another letter between the supposed φ and ρ.

30. The famous fire-breathing bulls were a ζεύγος only.

187. AGRICULTURAL MANUAL

Mummy A.

7 × 11 cm.

c. 280-240 B.C.

The writing (much of it covered by plaster) on this fragment is a well-made, medium-sized, rather angular book-hand of the same general type as 20, and is to be assigned, like that text, to the reign of Philadelphus. The contents of col. i relate to the culture of the almond, and closely resemble a passage in Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum*¹ (ii. 7. 6-7), which runs as follows: ἀμυγδαλῇ δὲ καὶ πάτταλον ἐγκόψαντες σιδηροῦν σταν τετράνωσιν ἄλλον ἀντεμβάλλουσι δρυῖνον καὶ τῇ γῇ κρύπτουσιν· ὁ καὶ καλοῦσί τινες κολάζειν ὡς ὑβρίζον τὸ δένδρον . . . ἀμυγδαλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐκ πικρᾶς γίνεσθαι γλυκεῖαν, ἐάν τις περιορύξας τὸ

¹ There are also incidental allusions to some of the practices here discussed in *De Causis Plant.* i. 17. 10; ii. 14. 4; v. 9. 11.

στέλεχος καὶ τιτράνας ὅσον τε παλαιστιαῖον πανταχόθεν τὸ ἀπορρέον δάκρυον ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ ἐὰ καταρρεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τε τὸ φέρειν ἅμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐκαρπεῖν. The papyrus seems to deal, in the same order, with the same two points—the curbing of luxuriance to induce fruiting, and the change from bitter almonds to sweet. Clearly it is not a manuscript of Theophrastus' work, for variations in vocabulary and syntax are too great, nor can the following column be inserted into Theophrastus' treatise as we have it. It may then be either an abridgement or adaption of Theophrastus made for practical purposes; or an independent representative of the class of practical manuals on which Theophrastus himself drew. Its use of different words (e.g. l. 4 σφῆν where Theophrastus has πάτταλος) tells against the abridgement theory.

P.S.I. 624, a manual of viticulture copied out personally by Zenon, and 187 are the only examples of practical agricultural handbooks found in Egypt. It is of interest that both belong to a period, reflected in their very production, when scientific theory is being given a practical application.

Col. i

[.] τῶτ[εἰ δὲ ἀμν-]
 [γδαλῇ] μὴ φέρει [καρπὸν συμφέ-]
 [ρει δι]ατρᾶναι τ[ὸ στέλεχος]
 [καὶ ἐν]ελάσαι σφῆνα [.]
 5 [. . .] μαι κατὰ τήν γῆν π[ι] []
 [. . .] ῥασσθαι. *sfrase* ὥστε δὲ ἐκ
 [πι]κρῶν γλυκείας φέρειν
 [πε]ριούζας καὶ διατράνας
 ὅσ[ο]ν παλαιστιαῖον τὸ [σ]τέ-
 10 λε]χος, παν[ταχόθεν τὸ ἀπορρέ-]
 ον] δάκρυον [καταρρεῖν ἑάσεις]
 [. ἀ]ποκαθα[ίρ]
 [. . .] δὲ περιορ[
 [. σ]τελ[εχ
 Two lines lost
 15 [. . .] ττ[
 [.] . [

Col. ii

. . .
 το ρν[
 κνι . [
 . . [
 20 πρι[
 .

Col. i. If the restorations suggested for ll. 7-10 are sound, the line varied in length between 20 and 23 letters.

3. δι]στράναι : cf. 8. This shortened form of the aorist (Theophrastus uses ἐνέτρανα) is without parallel.

5. This line should represent καὶ τῇ γῇ κρύπτουσιν in Theophrastus. There may not be anything lost after π[ι], and the maximum number of letters that could be restored there is three. The only supplements that occur to me (e.g. [καὶ | ἰδ]ῖαι κατὰ τὴν γῆν π[ι]λαι | π[ι]λ]ήσασθαι) are remote from Theophrastus' remarks.

12. Perhaps restore ὥσ[τ]ι ἀ]ποκαθ[ί]κει αὐτὸ (οἱ, τὴν ὑγρότητα), on the basis of *De Causis Plant.* 1. 17. 10 τῆς δὲ ἀμυγδαλῆς ἐάν τις ἐγκύβητος τὸν πᾶταλον ἀποκαθήρῃ τὴν ἐπιρροὴν τῆς ὑγρότητος ἐπὶ τῇ δύο ἢ τρία καὶ γλυκεῖαν ἐκ πικρᾶς γίνεσθαι φασί.

188-192. PROSE FRAGMENTS

Five fragments of prose works are here collected together.

188 (Mummy 69). 6.5 × 17 cm. Contains some 20 lines from the top of a column written in a quick, clear cursive hand, smallish in size, to be dated c. 270-240 B.C. The preserved strip is slightly wider at the foot than the top. Three lines down there has been an erasure of nearly three lines, and there are many erasures and substitutions in the last lines. The contents, which are in epistolary form (l. 8, σοί), are prefatory to an exposition of an unnamed philosopher's δόγματα, in preparation for an examination of his terms (λέξεις).

189 (Mummy 70). Three fragments, of which the largest contains 12 lines from the head of a column, written in a practised thick business cursive hand to be assigned to about 270-240 B.C. At the head of the column a second hand has scribbled Ἀθύρ, which may be a pen-trial, or may indicate that this fragment is written on a piece of scrap papyrus, in which case it might be an exercise. The contents seem to be part of an unidentified logical manual dealing with the tense form of propositions, and with questions of identity and difference, and are not unlike some of the difficulties discussed by Aristotle in *Sophistici Elenchi* 166-9.

190 (Mummy A). Philadelphus. These two scraps are the only pieces found of the same MS. as P. Grenf. ii. 7 (b) (see introduction, p. v). The identity is assured by handwriting,¹ diction and subject matter. The widely scattered fragments of this MS. (P. Grenf. ii. 7 (b), P. Ryl. 39, P. Heidelb. 401 a-k) were recognized and reunited by G. A. Gerhard in *Sitzb. Heidelberg. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Klasse* (1913), *Abhandl.* 13, and attributed to a dialogue

¹ Probably to be dated within the limits 280-240 B.C.

on diseases of the eye by Diocles of Carystus, an identification accepted by W. Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos*, pp. 33–7 (cf. R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, No. 243). I have not succeeded in joining the new fragments to any of the pieces previously known.

191 (Mummy A). c. 260–230 B.C. Six fragments written in an upright square book-hand on the verso of an official letter book. The contents are medical, and may have dealt with child-birth (cf. *ἐμβρυον*, l. 34). If *χαρίεν* (ll. 6 and 8) could be taken as a noun and identified with the herb *χαρίεν τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον* mentioned by Hippocrates, π. *Γυναικείων* i. 78 (viii, p. 186 Littré) as useful in assisting delivery, this suggestion could be made with greater confidence; the position, however, of *σπονδαίων* in an identical opening phrase in the previous sentence makes such an identification doubtful. It is not clear whether the text merely contains receipts, or represents part of a continuous treatise.

192 (Mummy 18). 14 × 10 cm. c. 270–250 B.C. On the right, ends of lines of a column of accounts with sums in drachmae. The second column, written in a fair-sized practised cursive to be assigned to c. 270 to 250 B.C., contains the beginnings of lines (the tentative restoration of l. 14 suggests 10 letters are lost on the right) of at least two medical receipts. One seems to be intended as salve for a wound. Together with **191** (though that may represent extracts from a treatise), these represent the earliest Greek medical receipts on papyrus as yet published. On the verso are parts of two columns of accounts in which names in the dative are followed by quantities measured in metretae.

188

[ἐάν] | ὥσαύτως νοῆι τις π[ερὶ]
τῶν φιλοσόφων μετ[α-]
λαμβάνων δὲ τὴν λέ-
ξιν

5 πρ[ὶν]
[δ]ὲ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν γί-
[νε]σθαι περὶ τούτων
[π]ρότερόν σοι τὰς ἀπο-
[δ]είξεις τῶν δογμά-
10 [τ]ων αὐτοῦ ἐξοίσωμεν.
[γ]λοιον γάρ τινες ποι-
[ο]ῦσιν τῶν φιλοσόφων

[ε]ῖ αὐτὰ μὲν τὰ ὀνόμα-
 [τ]α λέγειν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν
 15 [δ]ογμαμάτων καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ
 [τ]ῶν τελῶν κείμενα,
 [τ]ὰς δὲ ὑποτεταγμένας
 [ἀ]ποδείξεις ὑπὸ ταῦ-
 \.... φκρητι ες...../
 [τα] οὐκ ἔχουσι λέγειν . . [
 \εφοισομεν/
 20 [. . δε]δογμένον . [.] γ' δὲ δ[

Traces of one further interlinear correction, and one line erased

1-19. '(If) one thinks likewise about the philosophers and handles their diction . . . but before we proceed to examine these, we will first set out before you the expositions of his doctrines. Some philosophers act ridiculously in relating the names put upon their doctrines and upon their ends while being quite unable to recount the expositions on which these are based . . .'

1. [ἴδν] or some such word to be supplied from a previous column.

4. The erasure, probably with a sponge, covered the rest of l. 4, the whole of the following line, and the greater part of l. 5.

189

Frag. (i). 7 × 10.5 cm.

οἷ τε χρόνοι εἰσὶ κατὰ τ[ὰς]
 λέξεις, ὧν ὁ παρὼν ἐναρ-
 γής, ὁ παρελθὺς οὐ-
 κ ἔστιν.

[—]

5 [τ]ὸ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἔτε-
 ρόν ἐστιν τῷ τοῦτον
 ἀνθρώπων εἶναι· καὶ τυ-
 χὸν τοῦτον εἶναι *space*
 [αὐ]τὸς ἔστιν ἕτερον εἶναι.

[—]

10 εἰ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἔστιν τὸ μ[ὴ]
 \...τ.../
 τοῦτον εἶναι. ἐπὶ γ[ὰρ]
 \ἀλλ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ/
 ἢ οὐθεὶς κ. [

Frag. (ii). 3 × 3 cm.

.
] περὶ ἀδηλ[
] περὶ συ[
 . . .

Frag. (iii). 3 × 4.5 cm.

.
 . . .] τῶν [.
 . .] τινες [.
 . .] μους [.
 . .] νειων[.
 5 . . .] ημ . [.
 . .] ναι *space* [.

1-11. 'The tenses are in accordance with the statements. Of the former, the present is instant, the past is not.

'To be a man is a different thing from to be this man; and given that it is this man, it is not possible to be a different man. For if it is, it is possible to be not this man. . . .'

6. *ἔτερον τῷ*: the use of the dative is an analogical construction based on *ταῦτόν τῷ*. No such use has been found in Plato or Aristotle, where *ἔτερον* with genitive is normal.

10. The supposed *μ* at the end is not very satisfactory.

11. What has been taken as an interlinear correction may be accidental offsets of ink. At the end of the line after *ε* the second and third letters are ligatured, and the word does not seem to be *ἐστίν*. Instead of *επμ* . . ., *επην* or *επην* could be read.

190

Frag. i. 4.5 x 14 cm.

Col. i:
a final *ν* opposite beginnings
of lines 1, 2 and 4

Col. ii
σκληρότης [9 φέ-]
ρεται δεδη[λώκαμεν. *space*]
6= περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀ[σθενείας τῶν]
ὀφθαλμῶν [12
5 αὐγὴν φ[12-14
τύουσιν κ[
λημ[
. . .

Frag. ii. 3.5 x 8.5 cm.

καὶ τοῦ[
τῆς ὁψ[είως
10 τόπον [
η . . ρ . [
Traces
. . . .

1. The average length of line established by Gerhard is 20 letters. Below l. 7 there are two separate long strips of vertical fibres, from which the horizontal recto fibres have been abraded.

φ[ρεται: cf. Gerhard, loc. cit. fr. 13/1, 14/18, 17/16, 18/4, 6.

2. δεδη[λώκαμεν. Cf. Gerhard, loc. cit. 12/21. The coronis is sufficiently like that printed by Gerhard in his fr. 14.

3. ἀ[σθένεια: Gerhard, loc. cit. 14/7.

5. αὐγὴ: Gerhard, loc. cit. 2/3, 2; 6/7, 9.

8 ff. From the head of a column.

Frag. i. 7 × 11 cm.

5] λεπτὰς ἐγβαλ[
] . [. . .] εἰς μέλι δὲς . [.
] . . [. .] . σση ἀνακαθαρεῖ κ . . [. .] . [.
] . . [. .] . ας σπουδαῖον δὲ καὶ πρὸς υ . [.
 5 4] . σιας κνάθην διδόναι προ[
] : πίνειν . χαρίεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς [.
] . διδόναι π[ί]ν[ειν] ἢ τῆς [.
] νειν . χαρίεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς [.
 γυναι]κεῖα (?) εἴ τις γυνὴ ὕστ[.
 10] πνιγμός ἢ περὶ τὴν [.
] . διδόναι αὐτῇ τῶ[.
] νήσῃ πίνειν [.
] . . θα πιστὰ [.

Frag. ii. 3 × 8 cm.

] ῥασθ[
 15 οἱ] στισι συν . [.
] μὲν οὖν κ[.
] . ἱερῶι βί . [.
] . ις καὶ κακ[.
] στείαις υ[.
 20] . εθα εκτ[.
 κ]αταφρονη[.
] ονει τι . αἰ[.
space of one line
] . πεν ὑπ[έ]ρ[.
 . . .] εως [.

Frag. iii

25 . . τερον πνε[
 τὰ σπάσματα [.
 δὲ καὶ γυναῖκ[.
 κατὰ κ[.
 . .

Frag. iv

. . .
 .] ερουσι [.
 30] χρήσιμον [.
] συνλογί[.
] αν ἐρχ[.

Frag. v

Frag. vi

Single letters visible

Traces of 5 lines

.
 . ε]γβαλεῖν . . α . . [
 .]ασι εἴμβρον . ἰδη[
 35 . .] . εττ . . ιπ . [. . .] . [

192

.
 σταφυλίνου λευκοῦ τοὺς πεν[
 καὶ δαφνίδας δύο [
 καὶ πάνακες ὀβολὸν ὀλκῇ [
 ἐν δξί [τρίψας] \κύαθον/ καὶ ἄλὸς δρα[χμ
 5 καὶ κοτύλην ὀδατος [
 εἰς ταὐτὸ τρίψας πιεῖν [δὸς
 τὴν δὲ πληγὴν μικρὸν [
 τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τοῦ λ[
 καὶ ἐλαίου κατὰ πρα[
 10 κολλυρίων σύνθεσις [
 σταφυλίνου τέταρτ[ο]ν μέρος[ς
 χοίν[ι]κος δαφνίδας · κ[αῖ
 καὶ πάνακες ὀλκῇ δρα[χμ
 κόψας εἰς ταὐτὸ διάσησ[ον κοσκίνωι (?)]
 15 λεπτῶι καὶ ἀλεύρου . [
 τέταρτον μέρος πα[
 καὶ φύρασον ὕδατι [

4. l. δξί. δ of δρα[corrected from ι. 5. l. ὀδατος. 12. high stop after δαφ-
 νίδας. 17. α of ὕδατι corrected from η.

1. σταφυλίνος λευκός is not mentioned in LSJ as a specific variety.

10. The blank space after κ. σύνθεσις ('compounding of salves') perhaps indicates that this is a heading.

II

EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

193. *ILIAD* vi. 4-7

Mummy A.

2.5 x 2.7 cm.

Plate III.

c. 270-230 B.C.

This scrap, which gives the ends of lines of *Il.* vi. 4-7, is written in a well-formed tall, round book-hand to be assigned to the middle of the third century B.C. Its interest is out of proportion to its size, for it preserves a third-century-B.C. example of a reading which Aristarchus, on second thoughts, admitted into his text (see note on 4). It is also another probable example of a Ptolemaic Homer with no other division between books than a simple paragraphus. There are no accents or punctuation.

[μεσσηγὺς Σιμόντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο βόλῳ.
 5 [Αἴας δὲ πρῶτος Τελαμώνιος, ἔρκος] Ἀχαιῶν,
 [Τρώων ῥῆξε φάλαγγα, φῶως δ' ἑτάρ]οισιν ἔθηκεν,
 [ἄνδρα βαλὼν ὃς ἄριστος ἐνὶ Θρηίκ]εσσι τέτυκτ[ο].

4. Scholiast Venetus 453 πρότερον (Scholiast A, ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις) ἐγγράπτο 'μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῦ Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίνης', ὕστερον δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν εὐρὴν ἐπέκρινεν. Χαίρης (A, Χάρης) δὲ γράφει 'μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῦ Σκαμάνδρου καὶ Σιμόντος'. The papyrus certainly did not have either of these variants.

7. There is a blank space below this line which probably indicates that it is at the foot of a column. If so, Book VI will have begun only 7 lines from the foot of the roll. This is an odd place to begin a new book unless it followed immediately on the end of Book V. Ptolemaic examples of one book of the *Iliad* following directly on the preceding are offered by the third-century-B.C. roll P. Grenf. 4 + 22 + P. Heidelb. 1262-6 (Gerhard, *Ptol. Homerfragmente*) of the join between Books XXII and XXIII, and the second-century Berlin papyrus of Books XI and XII (Diels, *SB Berlin* (1894), 349).

194. *ODYSSEY* xvii and xix

Mummy A.

Frag. iv. 8 x 4.5 cm.

c. 280-240 B.C.

These fragments from what must have been a very beautiful manuscript are written in a book-hand of great regularity and beautiful spacing, reminiscent in style of the Petrie *Phaedo* (P. Petr. i. 5), but more festive and regular. No accents. Two fragments contained parts of lines from Book XVII, two from Book XIX; since they are cartonnage, it is quite impossible to say whether one or more rolls are concerned. P.S.I. 979, another third-century-B.C. text of

Odyssey xix, is in a different hand from these fragments. The text shows the eccentricities commonly found in early Homers, and special attention should be called to the omissions from 194 of lines that are kept in the Vulgate (xvii. 364 and perhaps 359, where the evidence is ambiguous). Supplements are from the Oxford text of T. W. Allen.

Some eight tiny scraps, each bearing one or more letters, have not been reproduced.

Frag. i

[αὐθι ποδῶν προπάροιθεν, ἀεικελίσ] ἐπὶ π[ήρης], xvii. 357
[ῆσθι δ' ἦος ἀοιδὸς ἐνὶ με]γάροισιν ἀει[δεν]
] . [] μ . []

Frag. ii

[μνηστήρες δ' ὁμάδῃσιν ἀν]ὰ [μέγαρ'· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη] 360
[ἀγχι παρισταμένη Λαερτιάδην [Ὀδυσῆα]
[ὄτρυν', ὡς ἂν πύρνα κατὰ μ]νηστ[τήρ]ας ἀ[γέ]ροι,
[γνοιή θ' οἳ τινὲς εἰσιν ἐναΐσιμ]οι οἳ τε [ἀθέμι]στ[οι] 363
[βῆ δ' ἔμμεν αἰτήσων ἐνδέξια φ]ῶτα [ἔκαστον], 365
[πάντοσε χεῖρ' ὀρέγων, ὡς εἰ πτω]χὸς π[άλαι εἴη].
[οἳ δ' ἐλεαῖροντες δίδοσαν, καὶ ἐθ]άμβ[εον αὐτόν],
[ἀλλήλους τ' εἶροντο τίς εἴη καὶ] πόθε[ν ἔλθοι].

Frag. iii

[παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα] κιχ[ήσατο θυγατέρος ἦς] xix. 400
[τόν ῥά οἱ Εὐρύκ]λεια φέρου[σ' ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκε]
[πανομένωι δεῖ[πν]οιο ἔπος τ['] ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·]
[Αὐτόλκυ', αὐτὸς] νῦν ὄνομ['] εὕρεο ὅττι κε θῆται
[παιδὸς παιδὶ φίλωι· πολ]υάρ[ητος δέ τοι ἔστι].
· · · · ·

Frag. iv

[πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε ὀδυσάμε]νρος κ . . . θωκα 407
[ἀνδρασιν ἦδ' γυναιξίν ἀνὰ χθόνα] πουλυβοτείρ[η]ν
2 lines lost
[ἔλθῃ Παρνησόνδ' ὅθι μοι κειμ]ήλια κείται 411
,

[τῶν οἱ ἐγὼ δώσω καὶ μιν χαίροντ' ἀ]ποπέμψω.

[τῶν ἔνεκ' ἦλθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς εὐτ' ἦβης] ἔκετο μέτρον.

xvii. 358. After l. 358, the vulgate l. 359 did not follow. Under α of με[γάρ]θρον is the tip of a tall letter (e.g. φ or κ), while below ἀε[δεν] is a probable μ followed by α. Fragment i, however, does not touch fragment ii at any point, and as the line after 358 does not seem reconcilable with vulgate l. 360 (presumably the first line of fragment ii), l. 359 was probably replaced by another or remodelled rather than omitted. According to Scholiast A on *Il.* xxii. 329, l. 359 was athetized ἐτι γέλοιος.

363. The letter after τ is not α.

364. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς τιν' ἐμὲλλ' ἀπαλῆξεν κακότητος is omitted.

xix. 401. φίλοις ἐπὶ γούνασι codd. Papyrus certainly did not have this; and though letters ερ are not certainly read, the following υ is quite clear.

402. δόρπου codd., which cannot be accommodated to the traces.

407. πολλοῖσιν γάρ ἐγὼ γε δδυσσάμενος τοδ' ἰέναι codd. (with a number of variations in the earlier part of the line, but none at the end). In the papyrus only the feet of letters remain, but it is clear that the manuscript reading was not found there. α[ντί]δωκα would suit the traces very well, but presupposes a considerable alteration.

411. ὅθι ποῦ μοι κτήματ' ἔασι codd. κείμενα κείται, at end of line, is found in *Il.* vi. 47; xi. 132; *Od.* iv. 613; xv. 113; and κ. κείτο (in middle of line) in *Od.* xix. 295; xxi. 9.

413. ἵνα οἱ πάροι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα codd. Possibly a whole line has been inserted, rather than the last half of the line altered. ἦβης μέτρον ἰκίσθαι is the normal order of the phrase (*Od.* iv. 668; xi. 317; xviii. 217; xix. 532; *Hymn Demeter* 166, 221), and it does not seem to appear in codices with an altered order.

195. HOMER, ILIAD II

Height about 33-4 cm.

Second century A.D.

This text of the Roman period was purchased at Illahun in the winter of 1902-3, so that its provenance is uncertain. It consists of a portion of a roll of *Iliad* ii, torn so that the top half of the roll is preserved for the full width of one column, and across parts of the two adjoining columns. The handwriting is a fair-sized round uncial to be assigned to the first half of the second century. It is less uniform and regular than, for example, P. Oxy. 20 or P. Teb. 265 (of the same book of the *Iliad*), and in general appearance resembles P. Oxy. 844¹ and P. Ryl. 60, though probably earlier in date than the last named. α is tall, often resembling a narrow wedge, and the loop of ρ is so tiny that the letter resembles ι. There are no critical signs, accents or marks of punctuation, and the scribe is careless and slovenly. He writes ι for εἰ even in εἰ (*Il.* 349, 379) and Ἀτρεΐδης (*l.* 344), and his divergencies from the vulgate have little to recommend them. At one point a corrector has intervened, adding an ε to φθινυθιν *l.* 346. The first column ran to 33 lines, the second to 35, so that the full column would be about 22-3 cm. high. The height of the

¹ And also a Hesiod in Berlin (Schubart, P. Graec. Berol. 19 a).

complete roll, allowing for a margin of about 5.5 cm. at the foot to match that at the top, probably measured 33–4 cm. Supplements are taken from Monro and Allen's Oxford text.

Col. i

305 ημεις δ αμφι περι] κρηνην ιερους κατα βωμους
 ερδομεν αθανατ]οις τεληεσσας εκατομβας
 καλη υπο πλατανιστω] οθεν ρεεν αγλαον υδωρ
 ενθ εφανη μεγα σημα δ]ρακων επι νωτα δαφοινος
 σμερδαλεος τον ρ αυτος] Ολυμπος ηκε φωωσδε
 310 βωμιον υπαιξας προς ρα] πλατανιστον ορουσε
 ενθα δ εσαν στρουθοιο] νεοσσοι νηπια τεκνα
 οζω επ ακροτατω π]εταλοις υποπεπτηγωτες
 οκτω αταρ μητηρ ενατη ην η τεκ]ε τεκν[α]
 ενθ ο γε τους ελεεινα κατησθι τε]τριγωτας
 315 μητηρ δ αμφεποτατο οδυρομεν]η φιλα τεκνα
 την δ ελελιξαμενος περυγος λ]αβεν αμφιαχ[υια]ν
 αυταρ επει κατα τεκνα φαγε στρο]υθοιο και α[υτην]
 τον μεν αριζηλον θηκεν θεο]ς οσπερ [εφηνε]
 λααν γαρ μιν εθηκε Κρονου παις] ανκυλο[μητεω]

309. φωωσδε : ε corr. from ο.

Col. ii

νηπιαχοις οis ουτι μελι πολεμια εργα
 πη δη συνθεσαι τε και ορκια βησεται ημιν
 340 εν πυρι δη βουλαι τε γενοιατο μηδεα γ ανδρων
 σπονται τ ακρητοι και δεξια ης επεπιβμεν
 αυτως γαρ επεεσ εριδαινομεν ουδε τι μηχος
 ευρεμεναι δυναμεσθα πολυν χρονον ενθαδ εοντες
 Ατριδη συ δ εθ ωσπερ εχων αστεμφεα βουλην
 345 αρχευ Αργειοισι κατα κρατερας νομινας
 τους μεν εα φθινυθ \ / εν ενα κα[ι] δυο τοι κεν Αχαιων
 νοσφιν βουλευωσ ανω[ις] δ ουκ ε]ρσεται [αυτων]
 πριν Αργωσδ ιε[να]ς πριν [και Διος α]ργιχο[ιο]

γνωμεν[ι] τε [ψ]εδος [υποσχεσις ει τε και ουκι
 350 φη]μι γαρ [ουν] κ[ατ]ανευσ[αι υπερμενεα Κρονιωννα
 ηματι τω οτε] ν[η]υσιν εν [ωκυποροισιν εβαινον
 Αργειοι Τρωεσ]σ[ι φ]ιλον [και κηρα φεροντες
 αστραπτων επι]δ[εξ]ι; εναισιμα σ[η]ματα φαινων
 τω μη τις πριν ε]πιγεσθω οικ[ονδε νεεσθαι
 355 πριν τινα παρ Τρω]ων αλοχω κατα[κοιμηθηναι
 τεισασθαι δ Ελληνς ο]ρμηματα τ[ε] στοναχας τε
 ει δε τις εκπαγλως] εβελι οικ[ονδε νεεσθαι
 απτεσθω ης νηος ε]υσσελ[μοιο μελαινης
 οφρα προσθ αλλω]ν θ[α]νατον και ποτμον επισπη
 360 αλλα αναξ αυτος τ ευ] μ[η]δεο πειθεο τ αλλω

Col. iii

373 τω κε ταχ η[μυσειε πολισ Πριαμοιο ανακτος
 χερσιν υφ η[μετερησιν αλουσα τε περθομενη τε
 375 αλλα μοι αιγ[ιωχος Κρονιδης Ζευς αλγε εδωκεν
 ος με μεγ α[πρηκτους εριδας και νεικεα βαλλει
 και γαρ εγων [Αχιλεως τε μαχεσσαμεθ εινεκα κουρης
 αντιβιοις ε]πеессιν εγω δ ηρχον χαλεπαινων
 ι δε ποτ ες γ[ε] μιαν βουλευσομεν ουκετ επειτα
 380 Τρωσιν αν[αβλησις κακου εσσεται ουδ ηβαιον
 [νυ]ν δ ερχε[σθ] επι δειπνον ινα ξυναγωμεν Αρηα
 [ευ μ]εν τ[ις] δορυ θηξασθω ευ δ ασπιδα θεσθω
 [ευ δε] τ[ις] ι[π]ποισιν δειπνον δοτω ωκυποδεσσιν
 [ευ δε] τις [αρματος αμφις ιδων πολεμοιο μεδεσθω
 385 [ως κε] παρ[ημεριοι στυγερω κρινωμεθ Αρηι

310. No movable ν at the end of the line.

316. For reasons of space it is more likely that the reading was the vulgate ἀμφιαχ[υια]ν than the variant ἀμφιάχ[ουσα]ν of the Ambrosian Homer.

340. γ in μήτιά γ' ἀνδρῶν (for τ') is due to carelessness or an indistinct exemplar. The same fault recurs in 376 (μεγ' for μεν').

341. σπονταί for σπονδαί; δείδι for vulgate δείδιαι.

342. ἐπίκο' carelessly for ἐπίκοσ'. P. Teb. 265 has ἐριδαίνετο[ν].

344. ἔθ' ὥσπερ ἔχων is a careless error for vulgate ὥς πρὶν.

345. The papyrus has the vulgate *aud*, not *de* of Photarch's citation (*Vita Rom.* ii. 57), or P. 16b. 265.
346. The vulgate has *uoluit* *V* *de*. The addition of *e* to *stultit* is by a second hand.
351. *de* [demonstrans]. The reading *de* cannot be excluded.
360. The position of the *p* (about two letters earlier than expected) suggests that there was an omission in the papyrus earlier in the line.
376. 207. cf. l. 360.

III

DOCUMENTS OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

196. CITY LAW OF ALEXANDRIA (?)

Mummy A.

c. 280-250 B.C.

These two scraps, written in a well-formed, medium-sized square capital that could pass for a book-hand, to be dated to the second quarter of the third century, are transcribed here because they appear to lay down either the duties or the qualifications of an official styled *γυναικονόμος*, mentioning him in connection with an act of registration in the citizen body. Though the nature of the text they represent is uncertain, it is perhaps most plausible to suppose they are extracts from a 'city-law' of one of the Greek cities of Egypt. Alexandria itself is a possibility, and in this connection it is worth bearing in mind the contention in P. Oxy. 2177. 13-14 that the laws of Alexandria and Athens are the same, and the now generally admitted probability (cf. Boerner, *RE*, s.v. *γυναικονόμοι*; Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde*², p. 929 and n. 4) that *γυναικονόμοι* formed part of the constitutional apparatus of Athens (as enforcers of sumptuary legislation) only during the government of Demetrius of Phalerum. Demetrius might easily have introduced these officers to Alexandria. This speculation would indeed suggest that it was Demetrius who brought the laws of the two cities into line.

It is less likely that these scraps are extracts from the laws of Athens themselves. But the possibility that they are from an Attidographer, or even a passage from an Attic orator quoting a document, must also be considered. The length of line to be restored is unknown.

Frag. i. 6 × 9.5 cm.

Parts of 4 lines

5 ... ε]ῖναι ἄλλο ... [
 ...]νων ὅταν εἰ ... α[
]ης μαρτυρ[...] τῷ κα . [
γεγε]νήσθαι καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν υἱὸν (?)
]ν καὶ μητρὸς καὶ φυλῆς [καὶ δήμου (?)

10 ἐν τῇ αὖν . . .]κυρωθῆι ἐγκριθῆι θία[
 3 ησ]εται ὁ γυναικονόμος
 4 ο]υνται . . . ι[
 5] . . . ιδ[. . .]νμ[
 πα]τέρα ὁμόσα[τα
 15]λ.[

Frag. ii. 3.5 × 4.5 cm.

.
 . . . ἐπίσσε . [.
]η ἀφίκτη[ται (?]
] γυναικονόμος
] νύων τρυτ[. . .]
 20] ης καὶ ὁ π . . . [.
] νεανίσκος ὕστ[ερον
 γυναικονό]μος ὁ μὴ α[
] . . .] . [.

7. μαρτυρ[εῖν], μαρτυρ[ίας] ? After κα at end of line, not τ (i.e. κατ[αγραφόμεναι]) ; ε.[, κ[, ν[are possible.

9. There is a link stroke before the first visible letter, and σ seems not to be ligatured in this hand. Therefore not παρ[ε]σ. πάντο]ν ?

10. The reading of the first word is not certain. Presumably there were three verbs in formulaic asyndeton. ἐγκρίνω is a t.t. in Attic for 'admit', e.g. of ephebes.

11. γυναικονόμος : cf. 18, and perhaps 22. Boerner in *RE*, s.v., summarizes what is known of these officials, and the towns in which they are recorded. There is no evidence to take their duties outside the sphere of morals, nor are they recorded anywhere in Egypt.

If ησ]εται represents a middle form, the duties of the γ. are being set out ; if it is a passive (e.g. δοκιμασθ[ήσ]εται), the passage deals with his qualifications for office.

12. There is a space after]ουνται.

20. It is not clear whether the writing is abraded before ης, or whether there is a space.

197. ROYAL ORDINANCES (?)

Mummy A 14.

c. 250 B.C.

These sorry scraps raise an interest which they are unable to satisfy. They lay down the procedure (ἐνεχυρασία, ἐμβαδία) to be followed in order to seize a security, whether in movables or immovables, clearly in fuller detail than the

] . σ η τ α ι [
] τ ω σ ι ν ἀ λ λ ή λ ο ι ς . [
] ω σ ι ν ἑ κ α τ [

Frag. iii. 11 × 6 cm.

.
 7] τ ω ι γ ρ α φ [
 20 . . .] τ ὸ ν ἔ χ ο ν τ α μ ῆ τ ε π ρ ὸ ς τ ὸ ν ἀ π[ο δ ι δ ὰ μ ε ν ο ν (?)
 πα ρ ε υ] ρ ἔ σ σ ι μ η δ ε μ ι α . [
 . . .] . . α ν ἑ ἄ ν τ ι ς γ ῆ ς ἐ π ι κ ρ ι θ ε ῖ σ η ς [
] φ ῆ τ α ι ἐ π ἰ τ ῶ ν π ρ ῶ τ ῶ ν γ ρ α [

Frag. iv. 3·5 × 6·5 cm.

.
 Traces
 25] . π λ ῆ θ ο ς τ ῶ ν [ο ἰ κ ι ῶ ν ἢ ο ἰ κ ο π ἑ δ ω ν (?)
 Traces
] θ ε σ μ ο φ [υ] [α
] μ . . . σ θ ω σ α [
 τ] ἦ ν ἐ π ἰ κ ρ ι ρ [υ
 30 ἔ] γ ρ ᾰ φ ε σ [θ α ι
] . κ ο υ ἐ π [

Frag. v. 7 × 6·5 cm.

Col. i

Col. ii

Traces

. .] τ ε . [
 . .] γ ῆ ς ο ἰ κ[ἰ α ς
 35 . .] . ἑ ν ι α ν[τ ὸ ν (?)
] . . [.] ν α ι ἑ ἄ ν
] ο ἰ κ ὸ π ε δ α
] . α ς
 ἐ ἄ ν [
 [. .] κ ε [

] . σθωσαν
 40 χ]αρίσονται
] . . . ηγθ[
 . . .

Frag. vi. 6.5 × 9.0 cm.

] . [.] το ην[.] αυτ . . υ[
] κ[α]θάπερ ε [
 ε]πικριτω̄ν δίκη [
 45] ἐπικρίσεως γῆς ἢ οἰκιῶν ἢ οἰκοπέδων
] αν ἐξελήλυθεν . . [
] θωτον ἔχοντα[
] . . τίμημα . [
 space of one line
] ἀποτεισάτω κα[τὰ (?)
 50 . .] οῦσι ἡ τ . [.] . [
 π]λείστων [
 ἀποτε]σάτ[ω

Frag. vii. 5.5 × 9 cm.

] γθ[. .] . . ἔσσηθεις ε[
 ^{ση/}
] ἐντων τιμῆν [
 space of one line
 55] τὸ ἐπιγραφῆν
 ὕ]πὸ τῶν δικα[
] ικω[
 space of one line
] ἀπ[ο]τεισά[τω
 . .] . αι δικαι[
 60] . α . ξη[
 Traces

Frag. viii

.
 Parts of 2 lines
 space of one line
] ἡ οἰκίας ἢ οἰκό[πεδα
 . . .] . [. .] [

53. 1. ἔσσηθεις.

Frag. ix	Frag. x	Frag. xi	Frag. xii
. . . .			
] . . . [	. [	]υδ[	.]η . [
]ανη[	κ[	] . σα[	.] . . [
]ωτηι α[	υα[	]ντων[	] . ωτια[
] ἀμφορ[	δε[	. . .	] . λων[
]ων π[	κ . [		] . [
. . .	η . [		. . .
	α[		

1. The formula (cf. ll. 6-7, 13-14) starts with immovables, and then proceeds to movables, which may be part of the agricultural equipment for a farm. The first three members γῆ, οἰκία, οἰκόμεθα are found in P. Hal. 1. 242 ff. Line 2, e.g. ληρῶν. For κέραμος cf., for instance, P. Ryl. 583. 9.

2. The minimum restoration must be something like ἀναγραφέτωσαν οἱ θεσμοφύλακες τῇν ἐνεχυράσιον κ]αἱ (P. Hal. 1. 238-9).

3. ἐπωνυμίαν : cf. P. Hal. 1. 251.

8. In Roman documents (e.g. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 48 = P. Fam. Teb. 29. 23; 49. 3; P. Aberdeen 19. 15; P. Iand. vii. 145, etc.) a 10-day period is laid down between the service of notice on the debtors and the grant of execution.

9. ἐξωμοσίαν : in papyri the term is found only in P. Eleph. 34. 1 and perhaps B.G.U. 1213. 6 etc., and 198. 195. But cf. ἐξόμνησθαι ('to deny on oath') in P. Hal. 1. 230 and 233; and possibly 32. 18.

18. Possibly ἐκότερος, not ἐκατόν.

21. παρευ[έρησι : suggested by T. C. Skeat.

22. ἐπικραθείσης : cf. ll. 29, 45 ἐπικρίσις, 44 ε]πικριτῶν δίκη. Though the verb ἐπικρίνει occurs as legal t.t. in Ptolemaic documents (e.g. Rev. Laws 28. 6; P.S.I. 399. 8), no specific procedure or institution named ἐπικρίσις has so far been known until the administrative personal ἐπικρίσις of the Roman period. In so far as inferences may be drawn from a fragmentary text, the Ptolemaic institution was a scrutiny of property, not of persons, and was perhaps confined to Alexandria and the Greek cities. The phrase ε]πικριτῶν δίκη suggests a juridical rather than an administrative procedure.

27. θεσμοφύλακες : for discussion cf. P. Hal. 1, pp. 135-6; cf. also B.G.U. 1213. 4, 11, and 198. 179.

28. μή could easily be read, but would then leave room only for two narrow or one broad letter before σθωσα[. Not μσθωσ[ε]ντων etc.

29. The last letter is more easily read as σ than θ (i.e. γ]ῆν ἐπικριθ[είσαν.

44. The ε before κ is almost certain. ο (i.e. λ]οοκριτῶν) cannot be read.

198. ROYAL ORDINANCES

Height c. 35 cm.

Plate IV (cols. v and xi). Late Philadelphus/Euergetes

This important text is not cartonnage and was not found at El-Hibeh, but was bought at Illahun in the winter of 1902-3. Its provenance is therefore

uncertain, but a number of indications to be mentioned later suggest that it was a place on the river Nile between Memphis and Hermopolis.

At the time of purchase the text consisted of upwards of a hundred fragments of a roll, both recto and verso of which contain copies of royal ordinances. Many of these fragments have been successfully combined¹ and a sequence of six columns on the recto, five on the verso established. When the verso came to be used the whole roll was reversed, so that what was the end of the recto was turned into the beginning of the verso. In other words, the first column of the verso is on the back of the last column of the recto. The top of the columns is at the same point on both sides. A considerable number of fragments (some on papyrus of a lighter hue) have resisted combination inside this framework, and no doubt there were more than six columns on the recto in the original state of the roll. Its height in recto col. v, where top and foot are both preserved, attained a minimum of 32.5 cm., and was probably nearer to 35 cm. Where they are completely preserved the columns are of considerable width, 18-19 cm. (40-50 letters) in recto col. v, 17-18 cm. (35-45 letters) in verso col. vii.

A consideration of the dates of the contents and a judgement on the purpose the roll was intended to serve will incidentally make clear the principles on which the reconstruction is based. Three factors are relevant: (1) the palaeographical assessment of the hands; (2) the sequence of ordinances on both recto and verso; (3) the coincidence of persons and topics with their occurrence in other documents.

(1) The hand (or hands) of the recto is large and squarish, a bold, well-formed and easily legible business capital. In col. i the hand is somewhat large and clumsy, in col. ii finer and neater, smaller in size and using a sharper pen; from the foot of col. iii to the end of col. vi and through all the unplaced fragments it remains a remarkably uniform, firm and competent documentary script. These variations, which are mainly matters of size and care taken, are not greater than are likely to have occurred in the work of one man writing at different times. Not only is the general style consistent, but certain tricks such as a generous initial upstroke to begin the cross-bar of τ , a deeply-curved ν , and a ν with initial left-ward curve at the foot of the first hasta can be seen throughout. In general appearance, lay-out and size, in spite of individual differences in letter forms, the hand of P.S.I. 531, of the Zenon archive (plate in Norsa, *Scritture documentarie* I, tav. ii) is not far removed. The only

¹ We owe five additional combinations to Dr. J. W. B. Barns. Where the incorporation of these new combinations into our text would have upset the line numeration already established, we have added an *a* numeration to the new lines (e.g. lines 1a, 2a, 3a precede lines 1 ff.).

punctuation consists of paragraphi and spaces. Individual *προτάγματα* normally begin with an *ecthesis* of two letters, which, with the additional spacing of a complete blank line, sufficiently divides them off from each other; sections inside *διαγράμματα* are marked off by paragraphi in conjunction with spaces inside the line, sometimes by these spaces alone. Parts of the text were worked over and corrected by what appears in cols. iv and v to be a later hand. The whole of the verso is the work of a second hand, who wrote a practised, rather flat angular cursive, using a fine point, and often making his letters very long in relation to their height, though there is considerable variation in the size of the same letter at different places. The hands of Rev. Laws cols. 57 and 60 (plates XII and XIII in the facsimile) show the same style.

(2) The sequence of ordinances on recto and verso is set out in the following tabulation, which will also act as a contents-table of the roll:

	SUBJECT	YEAR	
Recto i. 1-13	Royal appointments (?)	4	
ii. 14	?		
ii. 15-19	<i>πρόταγμα</i> concerning <i>σταθμοί</i>	8	Cf. P. Petr. iii. 20, V ii, year 10 of Philadelphus
ii. 20-7	<i>πρόταγμα</i> concerning soldiers (in Heracleopolite nome?)	8	Persons in text: Solon, Andromachus ¹
ii. 28-33	Royal <i>ἐντολή</i>		
ii. 34-41	Concerning cleruchic cavalrymen in Memphite nome		
iii. foot-end of recto	Royal <i>διάγραμμα</i> regulating security measures on transport routes and waterways		
Verso vii. 141-7	<i>πρόταγμα</i> prescribing control of transport licences (?)	14	Mentions officials Epicydes, Heracleides
vii. 148-53	<i>πρόταγμα</i> defining special jurisdictional procedure to try negligent officials	?	Reported by Epicydes
vii. 154-60	<i>πρόταγμα</i> imposing death penalty (for grave administrative crimes) (?)	15	Reported by Epicydes
vii. 161-viii. 172	<i>πρόταγμα</i> defining special jurisdictional procedure (in case of debts owed by individuals to treasury debtors?)		
viii. 173-90	<i>πρόταγμα</i> defining special jurisdictional procedure (in case of debts?)		Reported by Theon
viii. 191-6	<i>πρόταγμα</i> concerning pledges or sales		
ix. 197-210	(Continuation of previous column?)		
x. 211-12	?	25	
x. 213-32	Concerning pledges and sales		
xi. 233-45	<i>πρόταγμα</i> defining jurisdictional competence	5	Reference to jurisdiction of strategus

¹ And possibly *Ἰεγης*, if the initial letters of l. 22 are part of a proper name.

(3) There are three striking coincidences of persons or subjects with P. Petr. ii. 8 = iii. 20, recently re-edited by M. T. Lenger, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 27 (1952), pp. 218 ff. In recto ii. 15-19 of year 8, the general principle enunciated at the close οἱ γὰρ σταθμοὶ βασιδ[ικοὶ εἰσι is the same, except in word order, as that of Lenger, op. cit. No. IV, dated year 10 of Philadelphus. Year 8 here, then, can hardly be other than year 8 of Philadelphus = 278/7 B.C. Secondly, in the three *προστάγματα* verso vii. 141-7, 148-53, 154-60 of years 14 and 15, there figures the official Ἐπικύδης whose name has been restored by Lenger No. II. 2, where he is in company with a certain Σώστρατος, himself dated in Lenger No. I to year 16 of Philadelphus. Years 14 and 15 therefore are also years of Philadelphus = 272/1 and 271/0 B.C. Thirdly, in verso 173-90 (presumably of year 15 or later), a certain Theon appears in a peculiarly phrased introductory formula (Θέων ἀπήγγειλεν). In Lenger No. I, of year 16 (i.e. 270/69 B.C.), the same type of formula is found, also in connection with Theon. The two persons are therefore almost certainly to be identified.

The conclusion to which these three lines of enquiry point is that most of the ordinances on both the recto and verso were issued by Philadelphus. The last on the verso, however, dated year 5, is almost certainly, in view of its references to the conjoint jurisdiction of the nome strategus (see nn.), to be assigned to Euergetes 5. As the verso was all written by one hand, and apparently on one occasion, the date of its latest ordinance, Peritios of Euergetes 5 = April/May 242 B.C., is its *terminus post quem*. The handwriting suggests that the date was not much later than this, quite certainly not as late as Philopator. The ordinances on the recto, though copied at different times, appear to have been written by and for the use of one person, and presumably earlier than the selection on the verso. Was the recto written before April/May 242 B.C.? The answer has a bearing on the date of the ordinance in col. i, dated year 4, which could be either of Philadelphus or Euergetes. In favour of the latter is the possible identity of Heracleides (l. 4), Aeschines (l. 7) and Nautas (l. 8) with persons mentioned in contemporary papyri (see nn.); against it must be set a palaeographical consideration. We are aware that it is rash to seek to assign a date within twenty years on palaeographical grounds alone, even though this particular twenty-year period is especially rich in comparative material. Nevertheless we cannot but record our judgement that the writing on the recto is of the style of the last ten years or so of Philadelphus, say 260-250 B.C., and that at no place is it as late as Euergetes. The specimen in plate IV will give the reader an opportunity of testing our judgement. If this view is right, the ordinance in recto col. i will have to be assigned to Philadelphus 4, and will be the earliest surviving example of Ptolemaic legislation.

Detailed discussion of the contents of this roll is left for the commentary, but a few general observations may be made. The ordinances on both sides concern the royal administration. If there is any difference in their tenor, it may be that those on the recto are more directly concerned to prescribe regulations for the day-to-day conduct of various branches of the administration, those on the verso with the misbehaviour of officials and the special jurisdictional procedure to be applied in cases of abuse. Pride of place among the recto ordinances must be given to a long *διάγραμμα*, a well-preserved section of which sets out measures for the safe conduct of royal transports on the Nile, measures which may be no more than the establishment of a prudent routine, though it is possible that even as early as the golden years of Philadelphus they reflect an incipient insecurity that later was to be a fatal internal weakness (85 n.). Cols. v and vi prescribe measures against bandits and for the repression of brigandage, and among other things envisage action against deserters from the royal ships (including persons marked with the royal brand). The Nile police are to see that there is no sailing at night, and that vessels moor overnight at places appointed. The procedure in case of bad weather, and for vessels on urgent errands, is set out. The ordinances on the verso set out specific cases of abuse, especially those committed by administrators, to be dealt with in courts of special jurisdiction. The regulation in verso col. xi reveals the strategus possessed of a conjoint jurisdiction in company with the nomarch in 243/2 B.C., and well on the way to establishment as the principal officer in the nome (233 n.)

All of these enactments were of intimate interest to the local *φυλακίται*, *ἀρχιφυλακίται* and other persons *πρὸς ταῖς φυλακαῖς τεταγμένοι* (89 n.), and in practice required their participation. It is an easy guess to suppose that our copy was made for one or all of the officials in such a *φυλακή*, at once a guard-post and toll-station.

No locality in the Arsinoite nome is anywhere referred to. On the other hand, the many mentions of places on the Nile, ranging from Memphis through the Heracleopolite nome to Hermopolis (see especially ll. 123 ff.), and the fact that the long *diagramma* in cols. iv-vi would chiefly interest districts on the river, suggest that the office for whose use these ordinances were compiled was situated at some place on that part of the Nile.

These ordinances are a valuable addition to our knowledge of Ptolemaic legislation. On their formal side they are illustrated by, and themselves supplement, the list and general characterization given by M. T. Lenger in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 19 (1944), pp. 108 ff. (cf. also other works cited in the commentary) on the laws and ordinances of the Lagids. From the point of view

	υτ[	ἐ]κ τοῦ Μεμφίτου κατα[
	ων (ἐκατονταρούρων) [	] καὶ πρότερον τουτο[
40	] καὶ ἀρ[	]νημ παρὰ πάντων τ[ῶν
	]γοι καὶ νῦ[ν	]σιν τῆς κατὰ ποταμ[όν

Col. iii

		]ου
		]το
		]γυλα-
45		τ]ούτους
		]ν
		]ρα
		]του
		]σαιχν.
50		]ν .
		]φ .

Col. iv

	τ]ῶν νομῶν παρέξονται
	]αρχῶν τὸ ἀνάλωμα ὁ καὶ
	ν]αυτικά· [ἐ]ὰν [δέ] τις λεία
55	ἐ]ν τοῖ[ς τ]όποις
	] δύο ἑκαστ[α] τῶν
	] . ας ἐπιγράφοντες
	]σωσιν ἢ τὰς τι-
	]ράντες ἐπὶ τοῦ
60	2-3 [
	τῇ[ι . . .] . . . [
	καὶ ἐπ[ιδ]είξαι[των
	οἱ φυλ[α]κίται . [
	ἢ τῇ[ν ἀ]ξίαν . [
65	οσα[.] . ε . . νημ εἰς τι[
	μέρας ἐπιδείξειν ο[
	ἡμέρας ιε ἀφ' ἧς [
	] . τῶν φυλακί-
	] . . [. .]σάντων
	] . σαντες
	ἀπο]λλωλότα
	λημ]σθέντι
	] . ἡ-
	ἐ]ν
	] ληισ-

	θέντων ἐγχωρίων [	]σαν	τοῖς
	ἀποδιδόντωνσαν δὲ τ[	].	[ἀγγελί]θσαν
70	[.] . [. φ]υλακίτ[		[τ]ῶι φυλα-
	[7-8]ασιν· ἐὰν [		κίτῳι τὰ
	.	.	ἀπολωλό-
			[τ]ῃ
		].	
	τ[	] . ω-	
	σα[ν	] . .	
75	τρν[	] . .	
	ἐπ[	]πο	
	τ[	]ριν	
	ἃ τὸ ἡμ[	τ]ω-	
	σαν μετρ[	τ]ῶν	
80	ἀπολωλ[ότων	] . καίως	
	κα[ί] τῶν ρ[	]ντες	
	 [	] ἐπιστελ-	
	λέτω[σαν	] . εἰς τοὺς	
	 [	] . . .	

68. marginal note, l. φυλακίτης.

Col. v

- 85 καὶ μὴ ἐπαναγάγηι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τῶι α[ὐτῶι ἐπι]τίμῳι
καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ληιστής· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ [δὲ καὶ το]ῦς να[ύ]-
τας τοὺς τὸν χαρακτήρα ἔχοντας κα[ί] τ[ο]ῦς [8-10]
ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ οἱ φυλακίται ἐν[. . .] . . [. .]ς φυλα[c. 6]
ἀλῶσιν
 ὅσοι ἂν ὦσιν ἐπαναγέτωσαν πρὸς [τοὺς 2-3 ε]στηκότα[ς τῶν]
 90 φυλακῶν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπαναγάγω[σ]ιν ἐξελεγχθέντες α[ὐτοῖ]
 ἀποστειλλέσθωσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς· ἔνοχοι δ' ἔστωσαν κ[αὶ] οἱ
ὑποδεχόμενοι τοὺς ναῦτα[ς] φῶρᾱ βασι[λ]ικῇ· ἀγῶγ[ιμοι]
δ' ἔστωσαν οἱ τε ληισταὶ καὶ οἱ λοιπο[ὶ] κ[α]κοῦργοι καὶ οἱ βασιλ[ι]κοῖ]
ναῦται πανταχόθεν καὶ μηθεῖ[ς] αὐ]τοὺς ἀφαιρέσθω
 95 ἢ ἐν[ο]χὸς ἔστω αὐτ[ὸς] ὁ κωλύων] ἢ ὁ [3-4]μενος τοῖ[ς] αὐτοῖς
 ἐπιτ[ι]μίοις οἷς καὶ ὁ λ[η]ιστ[ῆ]ς καὶ ὁ τ[η]ν να[ύ]ν λελο[ι]π[ώ]ς· κατὰ
 τὰ α[ὐ]τὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι τὰς λεί[ψ]ας (?) παρὰ τ[ῶ]ν]

λησ[τ]ῶν ἢ κακούργου ἢ αὐτοὺς ὑποδεχόμε[ν]οι ἐν[ο]χοι ἔσ]-
 τω[σα]ν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίμοις] κ[α]θάπερ
 100 γέ[ρ]α π[α]ται· ε [.] δὲ τοῖς φ[ι]
 μῇ [ἐκ]λυέτω μηθεὶς αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐν[ο]χος ἔστω
 δ' ἔ[ρ]ε νυναι ποιεῖσθωσαν παραλαβόν[τ]ες
 ἐπ[ι]στ[α]του καὶ τὸν φῶρα τὸν βασιλικὸν
 .. [. . .] . ρωὶ ἔστιν [. .] \καί / [δ]νευ τουτ . [.]
 105 [. . .] . ι· νυκτὸς δὲ μ[ε]θ[ε]ίς βαδίζ[ε]τω
 [. . .]
 [. c. 8]· εἰς [δὲ .] π[ρ]ο[σ] . [. . .]

Plate IV

.. [. . .]
 εχ[. . .] c. 14-15 [. . .]
 ηὶ καὶ [.]· διακρινέτω[σ]α]ν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ κρι-
 110 ταὶ οἱ[σ]περ καὶ τοῦς ληιστὰς κρίνειν συντέτακται· τοὺς δὲ
 πλείον[τ]ας κατὰ π[ρ]οταμὸν ὀρμίζεσθαι πρὸ τ[ῆ]
 ἐν τοῖς ἀ[πο]δοδεῖ[γ]μένων τ[ῶ]ν ποτῶν· νυκτὸς δὲ \μ / μ[.]-
 οὔνται [. c. 9]· [.] ἀπ[ο]λέσωσιν ἐν . [. . .]
 εἰς δὲ τί[ν]ες ὑπὸ χειμῶνος [. . .] κληθέντες . [. . .]
 115 ἐπ' ἀκτῆς ὀρμίσθηναι παρελθόντ[ε]ς ἐπὶ τῇ
 συγκύρον[τ]α] προσαγγελλέτωσαν τοῖς φυλακίταις τήν
 τε αἰτίαν κ[α]τὰ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ὀρμίσθησαν [καὶ τοῖς προσ]-
 αγγελαῖς συναποστελλέτω ὁ ἀρχιφυλακ[ί]της φυλακὴν
 ἱκανὴν οἵτινες φυλάξουσιν τοὺς ὀρμούντ[ε]ς ὅπως μὴ θέν[τ]
 120 βίαιον γένηται· καὶ εἰς τινες παρὰ τοῦ [βασιλέως ἀπεσ]-
 ταλμένοι κατὰ σπουδὴν πλείωσιν καὶ βούλ[ω]νται πλεῖν
 νυκτὸς, συμπερ[ο]π[ε]μπτέωσαν τούτους καὶ . [. . .]
 90. third a of ἐπαναγών[ο]ν corrected. 122. ω of συμπερ[ο]π[ε]μπτέωσαν corrected.

Col. vi

φυλακίτ[η]
 ἐπικλη[τ]η . [. . .]
 125 νέτω τοῖς[.]
 VOL. II

κῆι Μεμφιτ . [
 τῆς πόλει· . [
 Τέκθωι . [
 Κυνοπολιτ[
 130 φυλακῆς Ἑρμ[οπολιτ . . . Σπέος (?)]
 Ἄρτέμιδος π[
 /οσης [
 τομονοι νήσω[ι
 ὁ τὴν φυλακ[ήν
 τρόπωι ὧι ἄν [
 135 ποιών αὐτ[
 δὲ οἱ ὑπαρ[
 φυλάσσειν
 λεγμένω[ι
 [. .]ων καὶ [
 140 [. . .]οτω[ν[

Verso

Col. vii

Second hand

Βασιλέως προστ[άξαντος· τοὺς πραγματευομένους
 [τ]ι τῶν βα[σιλ]ικῶν [ἡ c. 5]· ζοντας καὶ τοὺς τελώνας ἢ
 τούτων ἀν[τιγραφεῖς] μὴ [. .]η[. . .]τ[ῆς] μὴδ' ἀτελείας
 διδόναι μ[ηδὲ κ]ατάγ[ειν] εἰς μ[ηθ]έν ἐὰμ μὴ παρὰ
 145 Ἑπικυθ[ο]ὺς τὰ σ[ύ]μβολα παραγ[έν]η[τ]αι ὧν ἂν καὶ παρὰ Ἑρα-
 κλείδ[η]ς ἀντίγ[ρα]φα ὑπάρξῃ· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄκυρα αὐτοῖς
 ἔσται· (ἔτους) ιδ [Ἀ]ρτεμ[ι]ῶν

Βασιλέως προστ[ά]ξαντος· [Ἑ]πικ[ύ]δο[υ]ς ἀπ[α]γγειλαντος·
 ὅσοι ἂν τῶν π[ραγ]ματευ[ομένων]· [τακ[c. 5] πρὸς τοὺς
 150 λόγους τῶ[ν] c. 12]ρακ[. . .]ένους ἀντει-
 πῶων κα[λούμενοι] ἐπὶ το[ῦ] ἀποδεδ[ε]γμένον κριτη-
 ρίου . . φ[c. 12] εἰς τὸ βασιλ[ε]ϊκόν τὸ ἐγκαλοῦ-
 με[νον]· (ἔτους)]ου

B[ασιλέως προστάξαντος· Ἐπικ]ύδου[s] ἀπ[α]γγείλαντ[os]·
 155 [. . . [. τ]ῶν ἀποδεδ[ει]-
 [γμένων] . [.
 [. [.
 [κριτ]ηρίωι α . . . [.
 [. θανάτωι ζημιώσ[η]
 160 [(ἐτους) ιε Γορπαιίου

[Βασιλέως προστάξαντος· ὅσων π. [. . .] . αγνω[. c. 6-10] . ν
 [. ὀφείλε[ι]ν χρήματα εἰς τὸ βα[σιλε]ϊκόν
 [. ως {ως} αὐτοῖς ὀφείλοντας κ[αί] περὶ
 [ἀντιλέγοντας κρίνεσθαι βούλων-
 165 [ται ἐ]πὶ τοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένου κριτηρίου
 [. ν ἀθῶ[ι]οι ἔστωσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐξαρνη-
 [σάμενοι ἀποτινέτωσαν τὸ ἐγκληθῆ[ν] τούτου
 [. τὸ μὲν ἐπίτιμον τοῦ ἰδιώ[τ]ου

Col. viii

τὸ δὲ ὀφείλημ[α εἰς] τῷ βασιλικόν
 170 ἰδιώτῃ πρώτῳ τοῦ ὀφειλήμ[ατος
 καλούντε[s . .] . [.] [. .] \ . . / ωτ . [.
 μενον ἡμ[ι]ῶν λιον εἰ[ς]

Θέων ἀπήγγειλεν· . [.
 καταβάλλωσ[ιν]
 175 τοῖς ὀφεί[λο]υσ[ιν]
 πρὸς τοὺς [. . .] τισ . [. .]
 ἀποδόσει [. . .] καλεῖ . [. .]
 περὶ ὀφειλ[ή]ματος] . ρειν τοῦ[s]
 θεσμο . [. . .] τῇ]ρ τράπεζαν
 180 εἰς λε κα[ί]] . ν εἰς τὸ
 βασιλ[ικόν]] ως οὐκ [ὀφ]είλοντες

	κατ[	] .. των α . []
	.	]φ[
	. [	.
185	γ[	
	καὶ φ[	
	ὥσιγ γ[	
	γνώσε[ται	
	τὸ κλ[	ἐπὶ το]ϋ
190	ἀποδ[εδειγμένου κριτηρίου (?)	
	Βασιλέως πρ[οστάξαντος·	ἐν]εχυραζο-
	μένων ἢ πω[λουμένων	] . μὴ δί-
	δοσθαι αὐ[τοῖς	]σι· ἐὰμ
	μὴ χειρ[ο]γραφ . . .	] .
195	ἐξομνυν[	]τωσαν
	ἢ ἐμ παραθ[ήκη] οἱ -έσει (?)	]

Col. ix

	.	.
	ε[	
	θ[	
	τ[	
200	τ[	
	ε[	
	.	
	. [	
	... [	
	των π[	
205	των ρ[	
	πον σ[	
	ὡνὰς . . [	
	καὶ στρ[α]	
	νωι αὐτ[ῇ]	
210	καθ[ω]τ[ῇ]	

Col. x

]. . . [
] (ἐτους) κε Δί[ου]

ἐν 'Ε]ρμού πφλει γεγε[
]. . . ων [ε]κ τοῦ δι[ιαγράμματος] (?)
215]κ[. . .]τας ε[
ἐνεχυραζομ]ένων ἡ πωλουμ[ένων
]. . . [. . .]σθ[α]ι τοῖς βουλομ[ένοις
]. . . συνεκρίθη[ι] τρ[ύ]των τ[ών] (?)
]εν γυναῖκες οὐσα[ι]φε[
220]. . . αἱ δεῖν ἐξιδιάζεσθαι[ι
]λόγτων μὴ διδ[ο]σθαι τῶι [
]. . . ον γάρ ἐστ[ι]ν αὐτὰς σ[ι
]. . . [. . .]μα τε[

224a] καὶ ε[
225a] ῥδελφά[ς
226a]. . . ἐπὶ τὸ α . . . [
227a] ἐπιχε[.
228a]. . . τοῖς δ . . . [
229a]στας γα[
230a]. . . τ . . . [
]. . . [
225]κρίν[εσθα]ι εἰ . . . [
]. . . γὰρ εγδε . . . ο . . . [
]. . . ἔκτον μ . . . ρ . . . [
]. . . ἔ δὲ ἐκ τῶν φόρων [
]εἰ τὰ δίκαια ποιεί[ν] (?)]ρη[
230 τ]οῖς βουλομένοις ἐξ[] καὶ τ[
]λαντες οἱ τὰ βασιλ[ικὰ]]σονται
τ]οῖς ἄλλοις διασκεψ[]τας κ . . . [

Plate IV

Col. xi

232a]τεα[
]αιρ[]τοφορ[
] . έχεσθαι μηδ[c. 8] άγωγίμ . . .
235 συ]νγραφάς τών [. . .]ν άλλά τοὺς ένκαλου . []
]ρις ή οίς άν οὔτοι ένκαλέσωσιν λαμβάν[ειν τὸ δι]-
[καιον] έν τῷ άποδεδευμένῳ κριτηρίῳ, περ[ί] δέ
[τῷ]ν ένκλημάτων κρι[ν]εσθαι [αὐ]τοὺς κ[α]τὰ τὰ [.
] . έν τοῖς οὔσιν καθ' έκάστους τῶν τ[ό]πων ε[ί]
240 δι]καστηρίοις . εάν δέ τις άντιλογία ήι περ[ί]
] . τὰ[s] κρίσεις ώς έν τῷ διαγ[ράμ]ματι [.
γέ]γραπται έπισκοπεῖν τὸν έν έκάστ[ῳ] νομῳί
[στρατη]γὸν μετὰ τοῦ νομάρχου καί ωσ[]
σ]υντελεῖσθαι .
245 (ξτους) ε Περιτίου

Fragments : Broken on all sides, unless the contrary is stated. 1 and 2 may perhaps on the score of the handwriting be assigned to recto col. i ; 3, 4 (both with top margin preserved) appear to come from a single column, which could be recto col. iii ; on grounds of content, 5 (with top margin preserved) may possibly also be assigned to recto col. iii ; 6 is almost certainly (see commentary) and 7, 8 not improbably part of recto col. vi ; 8 and 9 are from the last lines of columns. About 10-22 no useful statement regarding position can be made. A further 27 scraps containing a few letters are not reproduced here.

1	Recto	Verso	2	Recto	Verso
	] . . [	] τήν β[		] . νοῦ[	] . . [
	ε]πιδείξει[	] λόγων [		] . λ . [	] α . [
				διαγρ]άμματι[	] . . . [
				]ο του[	

	Recto	Verso
3	] καὶ ἀν[.] . [] λαμβανο[] νῦν ἀνῆ[] αἰνητα[ι	] ἐπι] . λου]υ
5	] οἰκαρχ[] . [	
4	Recto]λους του[το]ὺς λοιπο]ὺς φυλ]ακιστῶν] . [	Verso] . ως δω . [εἰσ]πραχθῆ[σεται (?)]το . ε[
5	Recto] . ης τῆ[ς κα]τὰ ποταμ[όν] ἐπιμελ[εῖσθαι μὲν του[ἐ]πὶ τοῦ [φ]υλακίτου κα[κατ]ὰ τὸ δι[ι]αγράμμα [	Verso]ακται τ . [c. 5]ν προσ]τεταγμέ[ν]]κεχωρήκα[σ]ιν]ε . . νεστ[]
5	] καὶ ἐ[άν] τις λη[ί]α . [] τοὺς ν[αὐτ]ὰς [] τοὺς π . [] ἀργυριο[ποτα(?)]μόν δι[ε	] . [. . .]τινων] . τος α]ὐτοῖς
6	Recto] . [Με]μψιτ[]τεύεσθαι δε[μ]ηδὲ ὑπεύθυνον εἶνα[ι	Verso] . [β]ασιλεὺς] . s ἐπι Βασιλέως [προστάξαντος·] εἰ δὲ [. .]ρατ[
5	εἰ]σπράσκειν δὲ τὸν σίτον []εις τῶν ταγμάτων[ἐπιμ]ελείσθαι δὲ τουτ . [] . [] καὶ πε[] εἰὰν ἐχ[	] . [. . .]ν . λ[]ς] . [
10	]κα[	

7	Recto	Verso
	]τε[.]φ[]ν καταστ[τῇ]ν φυλακῇν [] . ισταται τ . [	]μένων ἐν τῇι [πρ]ακτόρων συ[ἐά]ν τις τοῦτο [] καθηκ[
5	] τὸν σῖτον ἐν[] αὐτῷι ὦι []τ[	
8	Recto	Verso
	τ]ὰς φυλα[κὰς ἄ]λλον τῷι σ . [φυλά]ξουσ[ι] καὶ τ[]ατω τῷι ἐπ[ιστάτῃι 5 φ]υλάξουσι δὲ καὶ [] κώμας ἐξ ὧν . [] ἀπὸ τῆς α[] Θηβαικῆ[]ουσιν . [	] . ρα[] ἐὰμ μὴ τα[] . ἥδ[. . .] . τ . [] . ἐν δὲ αὐτῷι] . ὧνὰς γὰρ [πρ]ᾶξιν κ[ὀφ]εῖλοντ[πρ]ο]στάξα[ντος (?) κ]αταγ . [
10	'Ηρα]κλέους [πόλει (?) τῷ]ν ξένω[ν] . κον χω[]στην κ[]ε . [. .]υσιν [15 κατὰ] ποταμὸν [9	. . . [. []ωι καὶ . []ριαι παρ[
9	Recto	Verso
	]πρ[	. [. [
10	Recto	Verso
	] ἀπὸ τ[]νωτος [καθά]π'ερ καὶ νῦ[ν]γγραμ[	] . [κριτη(?)]ρίον π[]τωσα[ν] . ι . . [

5	ο]υσι [] (ἐτους) []]η αυτ[]]πατω[σαν (?)]τηι[]] πλοῖα [] τ]ῆν φυ[λακὴν] . []	
10		
11	Recto]λ[.] . [] ἀπολ]ωλότ[α] π[]] τιμὴν τῶ[ν] το]ῦς ἀπίστ[ους (?)] 5 ἐὰ]ν δὲ []	Verso ἀ]ντιλεγ[]]τριον μέχ[ρῃ] . . []
12	Recto] . τ[]]ισ[]]ατ[]] . εν[.] . στ . [] 5] φυλακιτ[]] περὶ τὴν []]πων πρ . \α[/]]κατ[]	Verso]ε[]]νη[]] . εας κ . []]φειν τοῖς []]ων ἐὰν χρ[]]λοι[]
13	Recto]να[]] . μ[]] . στ[]]τα ε . [] 5] . . ρθωσ[]]ας πόλεις κα[]]ν κραι] τὸν π[] τῆ]ν φυλακὴν []] παρέξουσ[ε] 10 κ]αὶ κατὰ γῆν []	Verso] . []]σ[]]χο[]]στ[]]τὰ ἑρὰ ρ[]]ντων . [.]τ[] ἐ]άν τι αὐτοῖς []]ῃ ὧνων παρ[]] . . ι[,] . . . []] ἐὰν ἔχη . . . []

	] ἀφ[ι]κνουμ[]οι[. .]οις τ[]υ καὶ τῶν π[]ετων το[15]ειαν τη . [	]τ . υ . . . [] . εϛ[
14	Recto]ωσα[.] . εϛ[]τωσαν ο[] Αἰγυπ[τ . . .]ι αὐτ . [	Verso] [προστά]ξαντ[os] [
15	Recto] . . . [] [] . . []μενον[5] [	Verso] . ν]υλο[] . τε[]εας [
	]θεσ[] . . απ[] . . []ωμα[	Βασ]υλέω[ς]γελ[
16	Recto] γὰρ δι[] . ασαν[]κότων ε[κακο]ύργους [	Verso] . . .] . [.]οις]αφ[η[.] . [
	5 λ]η[ι]σ]τῆν . [	
17	Recto]η[.]π[] . ων τὸ ἐπ[]της πρου[τ]ῶ[ν] γραφο[5]τα[	Verso] μηθ[εν []ρου . []τιν[

18	Recto	Verso
	] . [	] . . [
	]ς κα[ι] τ[	] . ι ἡ ἐξω[μοσία (?)
	]ιν καθά[περ	] . ς ἐσφρα[γ . . .
	]των πρα[	
5	]ας τω[	
19	Recto	Verso
	] . . [	] . ει[
	]νοπλα[.] . [	] . ἐπιφερω[
	]ολειζο[	] . . [(τάλ.) ε] [
	] . τα π[ε[	
5	] . [	
20	Recto	Verso
	]με . . . [	]των[
	] καὶ . [	]ε[.]τε[
	]αις ἐρεν[	]ο[
	]ωτ[	] . [
5	]ξ[ε[	
21	Recto	Verso
	κ]αὶ ἔστω [	] τοιου[
	] εἰάν δέ τις . [	] γυ[
	] . ληιστ[	
22	Recto	Verso blank
	]ω . . . [	
	]ως κομιζ[	
	] . ν ἵνα [	

Col. i. 1-13. This fragment, measuring 14 × 15 cm., and completely detached from the rest of the roll, contains the lower part of a column. The width of the preserved portion is 14 cm. Assuming a width of 18 cm. when complete, one might suppose about 4 cm. = 8-10 letters to be lost on the left in ll. 1-9, 10-12 letters in ll. 10-13. The initial δ[on the right opposite l. 7 belongs to a second column.

In its most explicit portion, the fragment appears to be a list of infantry, cavalry and administrative officers belonging to three different nomes (Hermopolite or Cynopolite,

Heracleopolite and Memphite). Each name is accompanied by a statement of army rank, in two cases (l. 3) also by the father's name; and on several occasions the regiment is mentioned, designated by its eponymous officer. The fragment might suggest some type of royal decree organizing military squadrons, recording promotions or even designating officers for a particular duty. It is generally recognized that the Ptolemaic king was commander-in-chief of the army, and as such had control of recruiting (UPZ. 14. 1-35, 43-50; P. Bad. 47. 9-15). Evidence on this point, however, is confined to certain special decisions relating to special cases (cf. M. T. Lenger, *Mélanges Georges Smets*, esp. pp. 512 and 521), and in view of the fragmentary state of the text, our suggestions must be treated as doubtful.

2. We hesitate to restore ἀποδίδει[χεν or ἀποδίδει]κται, or (supposing the words ἀβασιλεύς to be connected with what precedes) ἀποδίδει[γμένον]. The latter restoration, in any case, seems too long for the space. This consideration, together with the geographical order in which the names appear to be enumerated, suggests that the restoration at the end of the line should be Ἐπαρχοῦ or Κυβερνητοῦ rather than Ἀρχιπολιτοῦ. Cf. Rev. Laws, cols. 31 and 61-72; H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, p. 31 and n. 3, p. 33.

3. Ἰππου might possibly be read instead of Ἰθρου. The name Βαστακίλας is found in OGIS. 734. 2, 3 borne by a Thracian and Βαστάκιλος in B.G.U. 1223. 2, 15 (both 2nd-century B.C.). It is worth noting that among the new hipparchs here mentioned (cf. Lesquier, *Institutions militaires*, pp. 83-7, 340 f., 365 f.; Bilabel, *RE*, Suppl. IV. 743-6; Peremans-Van't Dack, *Prosopogr. Ptol.* II, pp. 47-52), the regiment to which they belong is in four cases (ll. 3, 6, 8, 9) designated by the name of the eponym. Lesquier knew of no case of a ἱππάρχης τῶν δέκων.

4. Heracleides πεν(τακοσίαρχος), as Professor Peremans has kindly pointed out to us, may be identical with the person of the same name and rank in P. Petr. III. 54 (a) (4) ii. 8 (248/7 B.C.). This latter text (now P. Lond. 573) appears to indicate the same ranks and by the same abbreviations as ours (re-examination shows that πεν() should be read for γεν() wherever this compendium occurs).

5. Λαστήης (or -τος, -τας) is a new name.

7. In the case of the first hipparch, the letter before υ could be read as α or λ, the traces after σ might be identified with τ, or even α or η; the second letter of the second name might be ρ, μ, ν, or γ. It is not impossible that the chiliarch Αλεχίνης is the same person as Αλεχίνης Θεσσαλὸς τῶν Ἀλεξιπποῦ χειράκιππος πεντακοσί[αρχος], author of a petition to the king found among Zenon's papers (P.S.I. 399. 1-2). If this identification were right, since the chiliarch is an infantry officer immediately superior to the pentakosiarch, it would imply that 198 was later than P.S.I. 399. At the end of the line, e.g. Νεο[πρό]λεμος, which seems better adapted to the length of the lacuna, or Νεο[κρί]της.

8. Professor Peremans points out to us that the eponymous officer designated by the words τῶν Ναύτα could be identified with the man mentioned in several papyri between years 12 and 26 of Euergetes as father of Ptolemy, himself an eponymous officer (P. Petr. III. 10. 12 and 14 (236/5); 21 (c) 9 (227/6); P. Teb. 815, fr. 7. 35 (222/1)).

9. e.g. Μεγισ[θεύς or Μεγισ]τρατος.

10. The name Νόμος is found in P.S.I. 529. 2. At the end of the line, e.g. Δημοκρά[της or Δημοκρά]τῆς (contrast Δαμο-, l. 8 above).

11. Μεμ[φί]του: the restoration was suggested by Peremans.

12. As Σάμος is not found as proper name in Ptolemaic papyri (though cf. the king of Commagene, Honigsmann, *RE*, Suppl. IV. 982-4), and ἐπιστάτης alone would not fill the previous lacuna, Ἰουαῖος is likely to be a termination. These epistatae, cited without further qualification in a list of army officers, must be the officials of this title who are concerned with military administration, especially that of the cleruchies (Lesquier, op. cit. pp. 192-3; E. Lavigne, *De epistates van het dorp*, p. 11).

12. *ὕπο-* may be prefix of a compound such as *ὑπόμνημα*, or preposition to be followed by an official's name.

13. If year 4 is Euergetes 4, the date corresponds to 13 Oct. 243 B.C. (Julian dating). But see introduction, p. 77.

Col. ii. 14-41. Four fragments can with certainty be placed in this column. The first (10 × 14 cm.), broken on all sides, is separated by a hiatus of at most 1 line from the second (4 × 6.5 cm.), and it is even possible that lines 32 and 33a are identical. There is a similar hiatus between this piece and the third fragment (8 × 11 cm.) which preserves the foot. The location of the fourth fragment (2.5 × 6 cm.), a separate piece with parts of the last four lines, is more probably to the left than to the right of the third fragment. Four documents are contained in the column: two non-epistolary royal *πρόσταγμα*τα, dated in Philadelphus 8 (15-19, 20-7), a royal *ἐντολή* the author of which is probably also Philadelphus, though the date has lost its year number (28-33), and a further ordinance which may also be a royal *πρόσταγμα* contemporary with the preceding (34-41).

14. The trace of ink is no doubt the conclusion, probably the date, of a preceding ordinance.

15-19. *πρόσταγμα* of Philadelphus year 8 (278/7) relating to the juridical condition of *σταθμοί*, to be added to the series of ordinances known from P. Petr. iii. 20 (M. T. Lenger, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 27 (1952), pp. 218 ff.). The concluding formula in l. 18 *οἱ γὰρ σταθμοὶ βασιλικοὶ εἰσὶ* is found in the *πρόσταγμα* of Philadelphus year 10 (*Chronique d'Égypte*, loc. cit. No. IV. 7) which forbids cavalry cleruchs to sell, mortgage or dispose of their billets. The restoration *εἰσπραθίσενται τὴν τ[μήν]* is also suggested by the same text, as well as by the contemporary ordinance which forbids in more general terms profiteering from one's stathmos (ibid. No. III. 5-6; No. IV. 6). In view of these correspondences, there can be no doubt that year 8 is that of Philadelphus, and that the present *πρόσταγμα* is the oldest yet known in the series concerning billets. The traces of ink after *η* in the date in l. 19 are consistent with *ε*, *δ* or *λ* so that the month cannot in fact be determined.

20-7. The contents of this royal *πρόσταγμα*, probably also of Philadelphus 8, probably concerned army organization or the status of soldiers, and its application is restricted and localized (cf. 1-13, 34-41). Neither Σάλων (20, 23) nor Ἀνδρόμαχος (22, 24, 26) can be identified.

21. Ἡρακλῆσιος πέλει. Absence of the article excludes Ἡρακλῆσιος. Cf. also fr. 8, R 10. In B.G.U. 1185 (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, 6, pp. 404 ff.) the benefits of an amnesty decree of Auletes are confined to catocic cavalrymen of the Heracleopolite nome.

23. Not *στρατῆς*. *ε* or *λ* is not impossible instead of *δ*. At end either *ἐστ[ω]* or *ἐστ[α]*.

24. The first letter might be *χ* or *τ*; after *οντ*, either *ου[τ]* or *ω[τ]*; before *τῶν*, either *ον* or *ος*.

26. Possibly] *εἰσπ[ραχθῆ]ναι* but *χ* could be read instead of *π*.

28-33. The subject-matter of this ordinance, probably also to be attributed to Philadelphus, is not recoverable.¹ In form it is a circular letter or *ἐντολή* originating from the king; cf. Rev. Laws, col. 37, P. Teb. 6. 12 ff., UPZ. 106-7; and also SB. 5675 and Collopp, *Atti del IV Congresso intern. d. Papirologia*, pp. 199 ff.² The restoration of the opening lines is

¹ Line 33a now suggests that it too concerned cleruchic cavalrymen.

² Cf. also E. J. Bickerman, *Notes sur la chancellerie des Lagides*, in *Archives d'Hist. Droit Oriental—Rev. Intern. Droits de l'Antiq.* 2 (1953), pp. 253-9.

founded on the rule, inferred from parallel documents, that the addresses of a circular letter are generally grouped by administrative departments, and when one branch is represented by several officials, the order of enumeration is in inverse proportion to the importance of their office. Cf. the royal *ἐντολαί* quoted above, and among non-royal *ἐντολαί* P. Lille 3. 71-2, P. Teb. 708. 1-6, 709. 1-4, P. Grenf. ii. 37. 1-5. These texts also show that the article is often omitted before one or more members of the enumeration, as is the case before *βασιλευσὶς γραμματεῖσι* (29). The formula must end with *χαίρειν*, which is to be restored either at the beginning of l. 30 or at the end of l. 29, according to whether or not *πρότερον* [μὲν] is conceived to be the first words of the ordinance. There is room for [χαίρειν] in l. 30, but if it stood there a further dative is required in l. 29, and there seems to be insufficient space.

34-41. The analogy both of the preceding ordinances and of parallel documents suggests a further *πρόσταγμα* of Philadelphus, concerning cleruchic cavalrymen (P. Petr. iii. 20, V ii. 10-16, iii. 8-12 = *Chronique d'Égypte*, 27, loc. cit. Nos. IV and VI; B.G.U. 1185 (cf. *Archiv*, 6, p. 404)), and dealing with the Memphite nome (cf. ll. 11, 126) in particular (UPZ. 111, 106 = 107, 108. 4-20).

34. e.g. *περὶ τῶν τοῦ α[λ]ήρου* . . ., cf. *Chronique d'Égypte*, 27 (1952), p. 225, No. VI. 2.

35. Instead of] . . . *ως, ες* is possible but less likely.

36. The reading] . *εἰσπαράστα* cannot be excluded, cf. l. 17 above.

41. The formula is analogous to that in l. 111 and fr. 5, R. 1.

Cols. iii-vi, ll. 42-140, have been formed by the conjunction of four fragments ((1) 7 x 8 cm., (2) 7.5 x 12.5 cm., (3) 31.5 x 17.5 cm., (4) 16.5 x 15 cm.). The document contained in these columns lays down a number of provisions, simply separated by a paragraphus, which, though lacking any indication of author or date, all belong to the same order of ideas, viz. measures to counter a state of insecurity in the country, especially in its transport routes and waterways. In the unity of aim of all these provisions the document shows the fundamental characteristics of the Ptolemaic *διάγραμμα* (on which see M. T. Lenger, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 19 (1944), pp. 113-15, 139-40), to which class it also belongs in point of form. (Cf. fr. 5, R. 4.)

Col. iii. 42-51. The readings of these final letters, which have no context, are particularly uncertain. For instance, in 44, *ἰαυα* could be read for *ἰαυα*; in 48, *ἰαυ* for *ἰαυ*; in 50, possibly *ἰαυ*.

Col. iv. 52-84. The fragmentary phrases in this column appear to belong to dispositions relating to the rôle of the police in the repression of brigandage. Such is the meaning of the term *λαία* (l. 54, fr. 5, R. 5). The word is used in the general sense of brigandage in P.C.Z. 59224. 12 (cf. vol. iv, p. 286), 62. 4, P. Lille 28. 18 and 22, SB. 4638. 17, P. Teb. 5. 7 and 742. 21 and 32; it is also extended to cover the plunder resulting from an act of brigandage in P.C.Z. 59145. 16, 59412. 10 and 13, 59491. 32, 238. 8, P. Ryl. 570. 2, P. Petr. iii. 28 (v) V = M. Chr. 45. 3, P. Teb. 796. 12, 1067. 9. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Strafr.* pp. 29, 89; *Law*, i, pp. 345-7; *Introduction to the Law of the Papyri* (hereafter cited as *Introduction*) in *Archives d'Hist. Droit Oriental—Rev. Intern. Droits de l'Antiq.* 1 (1952), p. 345.

The new fragments must be interpreted in the light of a general picture of the rôle of the police in penal matters. In third-century Egypt, in default of an introductory request, such as an *ἀνενεὺς* to the king or *ὕπομνημα* to the *στρατηγός*, the victim of an infraction of the penal law can request the intervention of the police by means of an *ἐπιβαίς* or a *προσάγγελμα*, or by a combination of both procedures. An *ἐπιβαίς* invites a *φύλακτος* or *ἀρχιφύλακτος* to

establish the damages resulting from a delict, and aims at the designation of the guilty party. A *προσαγγέλμα* is an objective declaration bearing on the facts and the extent of the damage suffered. The rôle of the police is then to search for the delinquents and arrest them, to open an enquiry into the circumstances and consequences of the infraction of the law, and to force its originators to make good the damage caused. Relating to brigandage, the most significant texts are P.C.Z. 59145, 11 ff. and 59224, 3-6. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Strafpr.* pp. 57-60; *Law*, I, pp. 411-13; *Introduction*, loc. cit. p. 355; Hombert-Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 17 (1942), pp. 259 ff.

52. νόμων ὁ νόμων?

53. e.g. νομ[άρχων, τοπ[άρχων, κυμ[άρχων. Cf. 28-9 above.

54. Cf. P. Ryl. 570. 2 *λείας* γὰρ εὐρεθείσης ἐν τοῖς τόποις (restoration suggested in the editors' notes).

57. The trace of ink at the edge of the break is compatible with τ; the next letter might be ε instead of α.

59.]ουρες or]ουρες.

60. At the beginning of the line either σπ[or λ[. (which would point to λημ[ένος).

61. Neither προσ[αγγ[ε]λάντων nor]μη[νυ]σάντων is an acceptable reading at the end of the line.

62. At end perhaps]οσαντες.

63. α or λ before the lacuna.

63-4. One of the duties of the police in case of brigandage was to force the guilty party to restore the stolen property or its value. The latter alternative is formulated in analogous terms to this text in P. Enteux. 30. 11. *προσαγγέλματα* denouncing thefts usually contain an inventory of the property stolen and its valuation (Hombert-Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 17 (1942), pp. 261-2, 269, esp. 274-85; for *λεία* especially P.C.Z. 59145, 59659, P. Teb. 796).

64. A blank in the text authorizes the punctuation after [ἀλγίαν; for λη[σθέντι cf. 67 below and P.C.Z. 59491. 5, the only other Ptolemaic occurrence of the verb.

65. Penultimate letter is possibly φ.

65-8 appear to establish time-limits for procedure, in particular the time-limit within which an *ἐνδείξις* is to be presented. This aspect of the problem of repressing brigandage has not apparently been revealed up to now by case documents. The little that is at present known about time-limits in Ptolemaic law is collected by Taubenschlag, *Periods and Terms in Greco-Roman Egypt*, in *Atti del Congr. Intern. di Diritto Romano e di Storia di Diritto, Verona, 1948*, iii (1951), pp. 353 ff., and especially pp. 353-9, on the relative provisions contained in ordinances.

80. The letter after the lacuna might possibly be either ι (i.e. δ[ικαίως] or υ (i.e. ἀνα[γκαίως]).

81. λ for α before the lacuna cannot be excluded.

82. The fourth letter might be read as ι.

83. At end possibly] before εἰς.

84. The beginning might be read παρ[ε]τε[ρ]α[ν].

Col. v. 85-122. Measures for the repression of brigandage are not here limited to the organization of technical rules of penal procedure. They are also connected with the wider problems of internal policy—the search for efficacious remedies to meet a widespread state of insecurity and an atmosphere of corruption which has penetrated even to the ranks of the police.

The ordinances of the Ptolemies reveal at all times the constant efforts of the royal power to counter these difficulties. But whereas from the end of the third century we have

only concessions to rebellious elements or mere condemnation of arbitrary acts, the legislation of the earlier Ptolemies is marked by a constructive effort. (This point is developed in Lenger, *Rev. Intern. Droits de l'Antiq.* i (1948), pp. 119-32, esp. pp. 127 ff.; *Studi Arangio-Ruiz*, i, pp. 483-99, esp. pp. 495 ff.; *Mélanges Georges Smets*, pp. 497-522, esp. pp. 503 ff.). The somewhat disparate regulations of col. v show this effort clearly. In its first section, 85-105, the legislator passes under review the various forms of the delict of brigandage, connected crimes and acts of complicity in order to define them from the point of view of their penal consequences. In the second section, 105-22, he describes the police measures intended to prevent brigandage on the transport routes and waterways. Some of the measures mentioned in both sections are of an original kind.

From the end of the third century intestine struggles, economic difficulties and social conflicts explain the atmosphere of insecurity in which Egypt lives almost constantly and which the sovereigns try to counter periodically by measures of appeasement or repression (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Hell. World*, Index, s.v. 'Robbers'). It is hard to invoke such explanations for the period of 198. Two hypothetical explanations are possible: either our fragments form part of *ad hoc* legislation, inspired by an exceptional situation, such as internal disorders of whose existence we had no suspicion; or alternatively, the evil to be extirpated had deeper roots, and these ordinances reveal the anxiety of the Lagid administration to put an end to an endemic scourge, the inheritance of an earlier system. As we do not know the precise date of the διαγραμματα, it is difficult to justify the first hypothesis; the analysis of the articles devoted to the Nile police will tend to confirm the second.

85 f. ' . . . and if he does not convey him (to the police post) he will be liable to the same fine as the brigand.'

The interpretation is founded on the analogy of 88-90 below. The φυλακίτης who, in a case of brigandage, fails to carry out his duty of arresting the guilty party and conveying him to the police post, is to be treated as an accomplice and to be liable to the same penalty as the brigand. This is the most explicit statement known to us of the fine applied as a penal sanction to the delict of *λεία*. On the *ἐπίτιμον* in general, cf. Taubenschlag, *Strafr.* p. 74, *Law*, i, p. 425, and on the penalties applied as sanctions to theft and more particularly to brigandage, *Strafr.* pp. 28 f., *Law*, i, pp. 345 f.

86-92. 'Similarly, in the case of sailors marked with the royal brand, and [other members?] of the fleet, the police are to convey to the commanders of the guard posts all who are taken in the act. If they do not so convey them and have been convicted of this failure, they are themselves to be despatched to the ships. Those who harbour the sailors are equally to be liable to the penalties for theft from the crown (or, expose themselves to proceedings instituted by the crown).'

This is the same type of illegal act as that envisaged in the preceding article, but committed in other circumstances, and possibly by different delinquents.

86 f. Two classes of sailors are concerned. Both belong to the royal fleet, for the expression αἱ βασιλικαὶ ναῦται, 93-4, designates them en bloc, and the term ναυικὸν itself, to judge from Wilcken, *Chr.* 385. 30-1 and SB. 8035 a. 5, points to its royal character. Both are equally capable of desertion, as shown by the phrase δὲ τῇ(ν) ναῖ(ν) λελο(ι)ψ(ας), 96, which covers both classes. The precise description of the second class was given in the lacuna at the end of l. 87. To restore τῶ(ν) [ἀλλοις τοῖς] may give the sense, but it is likely that the class description was more precise. [ἀποστράτας], a suggestion prompted by P.C.Z. 59024. 1 and P. Teb. 703. 219 (cf. editorial note), would blur the distinction between the classes. It seems not unlikely that one category of sailors was of slaves, the other of freemen. Ptolemaic

sailors were recruited not only from free men of the native population, but also from slaves, prisoners of war, and pressed men (Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* pp. 256-8). The slave class seems to be indicated by the description *τοὺς τὸν χαρακτήρα ἔχοντας*.

χαρακτήρα : *χαρ.* refers to a mark made by a hot branding-iron (the royal cartouche ?), and the persons concerned will be either slaves, prisoners of war, or impressed criminals. The word *χαρακτήρ* is often used of a 'brand' on animals (explicit reference to the use of the hot iron in B.G.U. 453. 20 *πυρὶ κεχαραγμένην*, of a camel), but there appears to be no other instance of its use for a mark on human beings as early as this date. That this is the right interpretation is, however, assured by the reference in 2 Maccabees ii. 9 (for calling which to our attention we are grateful to Mr. R. H. Barrow) *τούτους τε ἀπογραφόμενους χαράσσεισθαι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμα παραστήμῳ Διονυσίου κισσοφύλλῳ* of a century later. There is in fact here evidence for the continued existence into the Ptolemaic period of the practice of branding captives and slaves practised in the New Kingdom. Professor Černý courteously informs us that 'the evidence for branding persons is still essentially the same as set out in Erman, *Ägypten und äg. Leben*, i, p. 186. The *Wörterbuch der äg. Sprache* gives as references Pap. Anastasi v. 7. 6 (which has as parallel Pap. Chester Beatty v. R 6. 9), P. Bologna 1094. 9. 6, P. Harris 77. 5 and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 194. 36, and is safe as far as prisoners and slaves are concerned. In P. Harris 77. 5 Ramses III turns captives into soldiers of his own : "I gave to them captains of archers and chief men of the tribes, branded and made into slaves impressed with my name ; their wives and their children were made likewise". *Med. Habu* (Ed. Oriental Inst. Chicago Univ.) i, pl. 42 represents in relief scribes recording the numbers of prisoners and branding them.' It is interesting to note that this method of branding with a hot iron co-exists with the practice of tattooing. Tattoo marks (see LSJ, s.v. *στίλναι*, *στιγμαί*, *στιγματίας*) were used in Persia and Greece on occasion to mark runaway slaves (Aristoph. *Aves* 760) or prisoners of war (Hdt. vii. 233, Plut. *Pericles* 26, etc.), in Ptolemaic Egypt to mark slaves (P. Lille i. 29 = M. *Chr.* 369 = *Jur. Pap.* 71. i. 14, ii. 36) or dedication to a deity (UPZ. 121. 8).

88. Possibly *ἐν τοῖς ἑσπέραις φυλάσσοντες*, though it is not certain that there is enough room for the restoration *ἑσπέραις*.

89. The scribe's correction *ἀλῶσιν* makes the meaning precise : for the verb used in an absolute sense cf. P. Enteux. 28. 5 and W.B. s.v. *ἀλίσκομαι*. One might restore, e.g., *ἐφεστηγόντες* or *καθεστηγόντες* *τῶν φυλακῶν*. Whatever the precise formula, the persons concerned are the commandants of *φυλακαί*, that is, the guard posts distributed throughout the country, especially along the river, which are often confused with customs stations or other official headquarters. Cf. 110. 23-4 ; P.C.Z. 59031. 14-15 (*οἱ πρὸς τοῖς φυλακαῖς τεταγμένοι*) ; P.C.Z. 59289. 10, 21 ; UPZ. 149. 11 and 125. 7, 36 f. (and editor's notes) ; P. Teb. 5 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 260. 24 (where read *μ[ε]τὰ τῶν φυλακῶν* and not *φυλάκων*), etc. These *φυλακαί* have a rôle to play in regard to the *ἀποδεδειγμένα τόποι*, 112 below.

90. The substitution for the deserting sailors of policemen convicted of neglect of duty in failing to arrest the culprits is a completely original sanction in Ptolemaic penal law (cf. Taubenschlag, *Strafr.* pp. 73-4 ; *Law*, i, pp. 423-5). It is worth noting that in the Roman period *ληροποτασῆσαι* are similarly responsible, both with their property (cf. P. Oslo ii. 20) and their persons (cf. B.G.U. 325 = W. *Chr.* 472 = *Sel. Pap.* 231) for the execution of orders to arrest delinquents. From a formal point of view, no doubt, there is a different basis for this responsibility : it proceeds from the liturgical character of the policeman's function, not the application of penal sanctions. *ἐξελέγχω*, found also in P.C.Z. 59202. 5, is equivalent to the simple verb *λέγχω* ; cf. P. Petr. iii. 20, R. iv. 11, V i. 8 (M. T. Lenger, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 27 (1952), pp. 220 f.) and P. Amh. 33. 34.

92. The term *ὑποδέχεσθαι* is used in the same technical sense of 'concealment from justice' in Rev. Laws, col. 44. 14-15, where it is applied to the concealment of oil-workers

who leave the nomes to which they are assigned and take refuge in the neighbouring districts.

φωράι βασι[λ]ικῆ: it will be convenient to consider also l. 104 here. In that line, following a suggestion made by Mr. Van't Dack (to divide τὸν φῶρα τὸν instead of τὸν φῶρατον), we appear to have the phrase τὸν φῶρα τὸν βασιλικόν. The phrase ἐνοχος φῶραι βασιλικῆ is capable of interpretation in two ways. The first interpretation, relying on a gloss in Hesychius (according to which φῶρα oxytone = κλοπή, φῶρα paroxytone = ἔρευνα, and (later), φῶρ = κατάσκοπος), would accent φῶρα paroxytone here and interpret 'subject to investigation by the crown'; that is, φῶρα implies the existence of a criminal investigation department in the Lagid system, and φῶρ βασιλικός is a kind of crown detective, βασιλικός being used in the same sense as in, e.g., βασιλικός γραμματεὺς or βασιλ. ναύτης. This is the interpretation given by Gerhardt, *SB. Heidelb.* 1911, 8. Abh., pp. 24 f., of the phrase ἐνοχοι ὄντες φῶραι λείας in *SB.* 4638. 17; by Mahaffy-Smyly to the φῶρες θ who occur in *P. Petr.* iii. 59 (a) ii. 10, a list of persons divided according to crafts and professions; and by Taubenschlag, *Strafr.* pp. 28 f., *Law.* i, pp. 344 f.; if it is adopted here, the rôle of this investigating officer would not be limited to search for stolen goods. The second interpretation, accenting φῶρά oxytone and understanding it to mean κλοπή, would render the whole phrase ἐνοχ. φ. β. as 'liable to penalties for the offence of theft from the crown' and φῶρ βασιλ. as 'thief from, or criminal against, the crown'. A parallel for the adjective βασιλικός, used with the force of an objective genitive or prepositional phrase = παρά τοῦ βασιλέως, is found in, e.g., the common phrase ἐάν μὴ τι κάλημα βασιλικόν γένηται, and the whole phrase is like ἐνοχος ἀδικῶ πράξει = 'liable to penalties for unjust execution', which is found in *Rev. Laws*, 20. 10. This is the sense hesitantly given by Roberts and Fraser to φῶρ in the Apollonius letter published in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 24 (1949), pp. 289 ff., and adopted for φῶρά by LSJ and Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. i. 3, p. 18. 8-9. It is unfortunate that l. 94 is not sufficiently complete to offer a decisive context. The linguistic point is complicated by the fact that φῶραι in Attic and in Ptolemaic papyri (*P.S.I.* 483. 5; *B.G.U.* 1730. 8) means only 'investigate'; on the other hand linguistic parallels for the meaning φῶρα = 'investigation' belong to a much later date and there are no examples of φῶρ = 'investigator' except the disputed papyrus instances. An obvious difficulty in the second interpretation is the sense it gives to φῶρ βασιλικός, 'a crown criminal'. Turner believes the linguistic evidence is not strong enough to sustain the former interpretation while Lenger is not convinced that it must be rejected. Where the editors disagree the reader must choose.

92-6. 'Brigands, other malefactors, and royal sailors are to be arrested, wherever they may be, and no one is to free them from arrest. Whoever obstructs or . . . is to be liable to the same fines as the brigand or the deserter from his ship.'

None of the culprits, whether brigands, deserters from the fleet or other delinquents, is capable of benefiting from the immunity offered by a place of asylum or any other claim to protection. On the antinomy of the ἀνύγκμος clause (e.g. *Rev. Laws*, col. 44. 11, 17-18 or *P. Ryl.* 585. 3) and the right of asylum, see, above all, von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens*, pp. 69 ff., 94, 97. As far as the ναῦται are concerned, our text calls for comparison with *P. Teb.* 703. 215-22, where (in a document of the end of the third century B.C.) orders are given to hunt out native soldiers and sailors guilty of desertion. The editor remarks that while it may be necessary to seek the reason for desertion of the μάχητοι in contemporary political events, the hated nature of the service is quite adequate to explain this phenomenon among the sailors. οἱ λοιποὶ κ[α]κοῦργοι: the generic character of the term κακοῦργος in relation to ληιστής is illustrated by 62. 3-4 and *B.G.U.* 1764. 20.

94-6. Any obstruction to the arrest of the malefactors is punishable, and no distinction is here made between police and other persons. The penalty (which reinforces the arrange-

ments of the preceding article, 86-92) consists of a fine amounting to the same sum as is imposed on the delinquents themselves. This clause confirms the interpretation of ll. 85-6 above and is confirmed by ll. 98-100 below: a principle of Ptolemaic penal law unknown hitherto is revealed, that an accomplice is liable to the same sanction as the principal. The case of collusion between a thief and the policemen who arrested him known from P. Enteux. 28 gives us no information on this point.

Royal προτάγματα offer several points of comparison for the style of the clause: for the formula introducing the penalty, cf. SB. 8008. 27-8; for the method of introducing statement of the penalty by the particle $\delta\epsilon$ (95, 101), cf. B.G.U. 1730. 8 and 1812. 5.

96-100. 'Similarly, receivers of stolen goods from brigands or any other malefactor or shelterers of their persons are to be liable to the same fines as set out in . . .'

The act of complicity already analysed in relation to deserting sailors (91-2) is here extended to other malefactors, especially brigands, and attention is called to the crime of receiving stolen property.

100-5. This mutilated paragraph seems to have laid down regulations for arrest and search, the latter either to find accomplices or else the stolen property.

100. The second letter could be read as π , τ , ξ or χ , the third ϵ , or less probably σ ; $\epsilon\xi\sigma\tau[\omega]$ would give a satisfactory sense. After $\delta\epsilon$ the reading $\tau\omega\iota\sigma\phi$ is not excluded, but we prefer $\tau\omega\iota\sigma\phi$, suggesting, e.g., $\epsilon\xi\sigma\tau[\omega]\delta\epsilon\tau\omega\iota\sigma\phi[\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota\varsigma\kappa\alpha\iota]$.

101. A penal clause directed against an act of complicity analogous to that in l. 94.

102. The subject of $\pi\omega\iota\epsilon\theta\omega\varsigma\alpha\nu$ is either $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ or else some other officers vested with public powers. Only persons invested with public powers may legitimately enforce a house search in the course of their $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\nu\alpha$ (Taubenschlag, *Law*, i, p. 337, n. 73, ii, pp. 29-30; *The Inviolability of Domicile in Greco-Roman Egypt*, in *Archiv Orientalni*, 18 (1950), pp. 293 ff.). Other allusions to $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\nu\alpha$ in Ptolemaic documents: P.C.Z. 59350. 6, P. Teb. 5 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 260. 23; 38 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 303. 19. On the analogy of P. Teb. 38. 16 f. one might restore $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma\tau\omega\iota\varsigma\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\omega\iota$.

103. According to which of the two interpretations of $\phi\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}$ discussed above (l. 92) is accepted, $\tau\omega\nu\phi\omega\rho\alpha$ here will be constructed with $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ or with the finite verb lost in the lacuna.

104. The traces before ρ are consistent with χ , π or τ . The last letter in the line might be φ or ω , and word division is uncertain.

105-6. A blank between $\nu\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and the preceding letter shows that a new section begins here. The ban on movements at night recurs in 112-13, but it is impossible to guess how they were particularized here.

The top and bottom pieces of this column could be manipulated so that at their closest what is shown as l. 107 would be the beginning of l. 106. But this join is not convincing, and it seems preferable to suppose a lacuna of two or three lines.

108. The traces in the middle are the foot of a tall letter, κ , ρ , ϕ .

109-10. 'Judgement is to be passed on them by the same judges as are commissioned to judge the brigands.'

It is not clear who are the persons referred to by $[\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu]$ (or $[\tau\omega\iota\tau\alpha\nu]$?), though to judge from the identity of the tribunal, they may be accomplices guilty of removing the brigands from justice. It is not possible on other grounds to determine who are the $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ (or $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$) competent in the matter. As far as Ptolemaic jurisdictions are concerned, apart from the tribunal of the *chrematistae* and the *strategus*, there is no agreement on the extent

or limitations of their penal competence; cf. Taubenschlag, *Strafr.* pp. 52-7, *Law*, i, pp. 365-72; Guéraud, *ENTÉTÉEIS*, pp. lxxxii-lxxxv.

110-22. 'Persons sailing on the river are to moor before . . . in the appointed places. They are not to sail at night. . . . Any persons who are overtaken by bad weather and [forced] to moor to the bank, are to go before the competent [authorities] and inform the police of the reason and the place of mooring. After they have given the information, the chief of police is to send them a guard adequate to protect them at their mooring, and to prevent any act of violence. And if any messengers of the king are sailing as a matter of urgency, and wish to sail at night, they are to be given an escort.'

The information on the Nile police is new and interesting. Evidence for the steps taken to minimize navigational dangers and ensure the safety of transports on the river was collected and commented on with characteristic insight by Rostovtzeff in 'Πλοία Θαλάσσια on the Nile' (*Études Andriades*, Athens, 1940, pp. 367 ff.), summarized in *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Hell. World*, pp. 715, 1494-5.¹ In particular Rostovtzeff studied the status and rôle of the river police or *ποταμοφύλακες*, and the methods used in the later Ptolemaic period to repair their inadequacies during times of troubles by sending on board military guards, creating a corps of *ναυκληρομάχημοι* or using *πλοία θαλάσσια* as escort vessels. His sources did not go back beyond the second century B.C., but he was at pains to point out that documents of the third century bearing on this topic might still be looked for, and 198 shows his prudence. The earlier kings of the Lagid dynasty, too, were faced with the problem of piracy on the Nile, and their answer was not to reinforce the security forces, like their successors, but to establish preventive methods of control, two of which in particular are preserved in this section: the ban on sailing at night, and the obligation to moor overnight in appointed places. In case of exception (the two cases foreseen and allowed are bad weather or urgency), protection of the local police must be sought. Such measures are not exceptional ones, evoked by an abnormal situation, but normal and prudent methods of control intended to diminish piracy by restricting its opportunities.

111. *Exempli gratia*, restore *πρὸ τῆς νυκτός*; but an actual hour may have been named.

112. *ἐν τοῖς ἀποδεδομένοις ἡμέραις τῶν ποταμῶν*; cf. the analogous formula in P. Teb. 27 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 331. 61. The phrase seems to designate places on the river which are kept under police surveillance, and it is tempting to see in them the location of the *φυλακαὶ* often mentioned in this document (89-90 above, 125-6, 130, 133). The termination *-οῦνται* (l. 113) points to a verb in the future indicative expressing a positive command. *μὴ βαδίζοῦνται* or the like (too short in any case) is excluded since *μὴ* with future indic. does not appear to be used to express a prohibition in Ptolemaic sources. For *μ*, *π* is a possible alternative, e.g. *τῶν γῆν ὁρμῶν οὔνται*. The supralinear *μ* is part of a correction or addition.

114. *ἡμετέρας* cannot be read, and it is hard to avoid the hypothesis of a scribe's mistake for *ἡμετέρας* (*ἡμετέρας*) probably compounded with *ἀπο-* or *κατα-*. For *ἐπὶ* *χειμῶνος* cf., e.g., P.S.I. 623. 9-10, I.G.R. i. 1157, cf. 1158.

115. *ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ*; cf. Diodorus iv. 27. 4 (concerning pirates) *τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τινος ἀκτῆς δεσποποιοῦντες*. Here no doubt the phrase is contrasted with *τόποις ἀποδεδομένοις* and refers to areas of river bank not under supervision. In the traces *τῶν* *συγκρίνων* no doubt lurks the title of the police posts to which report is to be made. One might think of, e.g., *τῶν*

¹ For these (and other) references in this text we are indebted to Mr. P. M. Fraser.

ἀρχαία τὰ συγκύριον[τα]. No suggestion of any authority for Ptolemaic practice is to be found in P. M. Fraser, *Eranos*, 49 (1951), pp. 102 ff., except that the participle is unlikely to be personal. Consequently τ[οῖς ἐπὶ τόποις] συγκύριον[τας] can be ruled out.

116. The declarations to the police indicated by the word *προσαγγέλλω*, since they are intended to forestall criminal acts and not to notify them, are distinct from *προσαγγέλματα* in the technical sense.

120. On the crime of βία which may be directed simultaneously against the person and against property, and can for that reason be used to describe acts of piracy, see Taubenschlag, *Strafgr.* pp. 21-4, *Law*, i, pp. 335-8, *Introduction*, pp. 344-5; M. T. Lenger in *Aegyptus*, 31 (1951), p. 251. For the qualification βίαιος applied to this type of action see, e.g., B.G.U. 1818. 20 f., 1855. 17 f.

121. The restoration is based on the formula αἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, found in Ptol. documents for all kinds of state missions. Cf., above all, P. Hal. i. 124. 147-8, 154-5 and the editors' notes, p. 86.

122. συμπερ[ο]πεμπέντων: cf. B.G.U. 1784. 4-6 τοῖσιν μὲν οὖν (i.e. ποταμοφύλαξι) Ἰσοῦ Πτολεμαίου/ γέγραφα προσηύμαι [ἡμῶς] ἡγὼν οὐραγίαν/ μέχρι Ἱερᾶς καὶ Ἰσραφιδίου/ τοῖς ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ Τρωί[ου], and Rostovtzeff's analysis of this document, *Πλοῖα Θαλάσσια*, loc. cit. p. 371. Cf. also 54. 30-2, where the verb used of φυλακῆται is συνδιακομίζω.

Col. vi. 123-40. The paragraphs show that three different regulations were included in this fragment. The first is the ending of the one whose beginning is found at the foot of col. v; the second appears to be a list of guard posts strung along a stretch of the Nile in middle Egypt; the third appears to enumerate police duties analogous to those already set out, but its precise tenor is not recoverable. If, as is not unlikely (see note ad loc.), fr. 6 is part of this column, a further regulation may have dealt with collections of corn dues, either by or on behalf of army units, perhaps (if frs. 7 and 8 should also be located here) with the assistance of the police.

125-6. Analogy with line 130 tempts one to restore φυλα[κ]ῆτι. The final trace of ink in 126 is indecisive.

126-7. ἐν Ἀφροδίτης πόλει? cf. 134. After πόλει a blank space authorizes our punctuation.

128. Spelt Τέχθω this Heracleopolite village appears in P. Strassb. 103. 8, etc., 104. 8, as seat of a garrison in the third century B.C., and in the Roman period in 218. 71, 78, 91, 219. 13. Possibly it should be read in B.G.U. 1805. 15 (where edd. Τερθώ).

129-30. Cf. l. 2 above and note on the Cynopolite and Hermopolite nomes.

130-1. Σπίος(?) Ἀργέμδος: suggested by Mr. T. C. Skeat.

132. The reading is clear, but we have not succeeded in identifying the place name.

Cols. vii-ix. 141-210. The four fragments which carry recto cols. iii-vi have on their verso parts of three mutilated columns, containing portions of at least six additional royal προσηύματα, almost certainly to be attributed to Philadelphus, and in which, though for the most part their precise object cannot be recovered, a common feature is the way in which the interests of the royal treasury appear to have determined the dispositions of the sovereign. Cf. among προσηύματα of Philadelphus, above all, SB. 8008, P. Amh. 33. 28-37, P. Amh. 29, P. Gradenwitz 1 = SB. 6275, and among allusions to this type of ordinance, e.g., P.C.Z. 59021. 14-16.

141-7. 'By decree of the king: officials in the royal administration [or acting on the

king's business] and tax-farmers or their checking clerks are not to . . . nor to grant tax-exemptions nor to allow any goods to be carried down river unless licences are presented, and they are those issued by Epicydes, copies of which are deposited with Heracleides. Otherwise these documents are to be null and void. Year 14, Artemisios.'

Royal *πρόσταγμα* of Philadelphus year 14 (272/1 B.C.), requiring the presentation of officially issued licences before goods can be moved down the Nile. All the branches of that administration are concerned since the ordinance is addressed to officials as well as tax-farmers.

The interpretation here given was suggested by Mr. T. C. Skeat, to whom the restoration κληροῦνται τὰν in l. 144 is due. Merchants transporting goods liable to duty or subject to royal monopoly were required to carry a licence or certificate (σύνβολον) issued by a tax-collecting officer, and certifying either payment of the tax or exemption from it. Such formalities are attested in the third century for the oil transport (cf. Rev. Laws, col. 52, 25-8, P.C.Z. 59375. 10-11 and Cl. Præaux, *Écon. royale*, pp. 84-5). It is well known that at the same period persons liable for payment of customs dues attempted to evade it by applying to influential personages (e.g. P.C.Z. 59060. 10-11, 59061. 4-6, P. Mich. Zen. p. 14). It is not therefore surprising to find an attempt being made as early as 272/1 B.C. to prevent arbitrary acts of exemption.

As we have not succeeded in identifying Epicydes or Heracleides, it is not possible to do more than guess at the details of the licensing system. The fact, however, that these names are cited without further explanation, suggests that the provisions of the ordinance should be localized. If it is admitted that Epicydes was responsible for issuing licences, if not over the whole country, at least for a province (Skeat conceives of him as issuing them at the point of departure up the river), it would be reasonable to assume that Heracleides, entrusted with the custody of copies, and therefore with control of the originals, was attached to one of the *φωλακαί* mentioned more than once in this document (89-90 n.). It might, for instance, be that of Memphis, known from a number of sources, e.g. P.C.Z. 59031, 59060-1, 59375, 59820, P. Teb. 701. 202, 867 and Cl. Præaux, op. cit. p. 351).

141-2. The expression τοὺς πραγματευομένους [τ], τῶν βα[σιλ]ικῶν, attested also in P. Petr. iii. 36 (a) = M. Chrest. 5. 14, is a general term for officials of the royal administration. In Ptolemaic papyri it is more commonly found in the variant form οἱ τὰ βασιλικά πραγματευόμενοι, Rev. Laws, col. 20. 15, P. Teb. 6 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 332. 16, P. Teb. 904. 3, P. Grenf. ii. 37 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 169. 4-5, UPZ. 106. 5 = 107. 6. The traces before ζ in 142 could belong to an ε and consequently [ἡ χρηματ]ίζοντας might be restored (on the general sense of which verb applied to the exercise of official functions see the remarks of Wilcken, UPZ. i, pp. 160 and 605).

143. Of the numerous ἀντιγραφείς known in the Ptolemaic administration, the one concerned here is the ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς ὥνης nominated by the oeconomus to control the farming of a given tax. Information about the duties of this class is fragmentary; see, above all, Rev. Laws, col. 3. 1-3, col. 46. 8-11, col. 54. 20-2, UPZ. 112, viii. 15-16. Though the adjective ἀρελείς often occurs in our sources, the term ἀρέλεια is rare and usually found in obscure contexts (SB. 8008. 12, P. Ryl. 667, ii. 14, B.G.U. 1185. 23).

145. The name Ἐπιπύδης is relatively rare in Ptolemaic prosopography. It is borne by an official of Halicarnassus under Philadelphus (P.C.Z. 59036. 27, 59037. 9) and an ἀπονόμης τῶν φολαινῶν of the end of the third century (P. Hamb. 422 = SB. 7569, V 10, OGIS. 96. 3, cf. Peremans, Van't Dack in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 26 (1951), pp. 386-7). The only statement that can be made about Epicydes here is that he is probably identical with the person in ll. 148 and 154 (see notes).

146-7. The sanction clause which nullifies *σύμβαλα* not submitted to the required formalities is to some extent comparable with the article of a *πρόσταγμα* attributed to Philometor declaring unregistered Demotic contracts null and void (*περί τοῦ τὰ μὴ ἀναγεγραμμένα Αἰγύπτια συναλλάγματα ἄκυρα εἶναι*, UPZ. 162, iv. 13-15).

148-53. Fragment of a *πρόσταγμα* of Philadelphus organizing an action before a court of special jurisdiction. Though the date formula (l. 153) is almost entirely lost, the reference to Epicydes (l. 148) indicates incontestably that the ordinance is contemporary with those which precede and follow it in our copy. The content is not easy to define, since the lacunae prevent the determination with any certainty of the character of the accused against whom this special procedure is authorized and the object of the accusation. Though the expression *τῶν π[ραγματευομένων]* (l. 149) might designate officials in general, it might be completed by a defining term, while the words *πρὸς τοὺς λόγους* (ll. 149-50) might, in their fragmentary context, suggest any kind of irregularity in the sphere of accounting documents. There is, however, no doubt that the competent *κριτήριον* belongs to a special jurisdiction. The mere fact that it is organized to judge *πραγματευόμενοι* proves it (cf. E. Berneker, *Sondergerichtsbarkeit*, pp. 45-50).

148. The prescript is identical with that of the following *πρόσταγμα*. The rôle of Epicydes (cf. l. 145) in the promulgation of ordinances of Philadelphus is discussed in M. T. Lenger, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 27 (1952), pp. 221-2, 229-31 (re-edition of P. Petr. iii. 20, V i) and E. J. Bickerman, *op. cit.* pp. 259-67.

149-50. Turner proposes the following restoration, *exempli gratia*: *δοσι ἂν τῶν π[ραγματευομένων ἀτακτῶσιν] πρὸς τοὺς | λόγους τῶν ὠνῶν (?) ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναξιολογούμενους ἀντειπάσιν κτλ.*: 'those officers who are negligent about the accounts [of the tax-contracts ?] or dispute with those who summon them for examination are to be called before the court appointed'.

150. From the point of view of judicial procedure, the word *ἀντιλέγω* expresses the taking-up of a position by a pleader who, at the outset of a case, declares that he challenges his opponent's claims. See, e.g., P.C.Z. 59355. 100, 126-7, and the analysis of the term by A. Würstle, *Journ. Jur. Pap.* 5 (1951), p. 54. *τοῖς* might be read instead of *τῶν*.

151. It would not be impossible to restore *καθημένους* for *καλούμενοι* but a is more likely. *κρ[]* (i.e. *κρινέσθωσαν*, cf. P. Hal. 1. 146 or *κρίθῃσθωσαν*, cf. 29. 4) must be ruled out. In l. 189 the reading is clearly *κλ[]*. The formula *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένου κριτηρίου* is attested, as far as we know, in only two contemporary documents, in both cases to designate a court of special jurisdiction, namely 29 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 259. 4-5 (cf. Berneker, *op. cit.* pp. 53-4) and P. Hal. 1. 146 (ibid. 139-41). The parallel expression *ἐπὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος κριτηρίου* is applied to ordinary jurisdictions (ENTFETELT, Index, s.v. *ἐπὶ* and *Introduction*, pp. lxxvii ff.).

152. Before *ἢ*, *πῃ* or *ἡ* or *ἔν* might be read, but none of these readings suggests a defensible restoration.

154-60 contain two fragments of a royal *πρόσταγμα* dated Gorpaios year 15 of Philadelphus (271/0), promulgated in the same manner as the preceding ordinance, through the agency of Epicydes. Of its contents, the only element that can be grasped and which offers material for comment is that passage (l. 159) of the sanction clause which envisages the death penalty. The sources available on this aspect of Ptolemaic penal law are, for the most part, royal *προστάγματα*, viz. B.G.U. 1250. 14 (second cent.), P. Teb. 699. 21 (and *Archiv*, 13. 32-3, l. 17) (145/4), P. Teb. 700. 49 (124), P. Teb. 5. 92 (c. 118), B.G.U. 1730. 8 (50), 1812. 6-7 (49/8); SB. 6152. 25-6 = 6153. 28-9 (93) and 6156. 25 (57). In B.G.U. 1816 (60/59),

161. After $\delta\rho\omega\eta\iota$ the traces could be read as $\pi\epsilon$, χ , [$\mu\eta$ or even $\alpha\upsilon$.
 163. The second ω might possibly be read as the drachma sign, but, if, e.g., [$\xi\omega\varsigma$ ($\delta\rho$.) σ were intended, the figure symbol ought at this period to be written Σ and this suggestion can therefore be ruled out. The letter shows traces of an attempt at erasure.
 166. $\delta\theta\tilde{\omega}(\iota)\omega\iota$: cf. P. Teb. 44. 28, 800. 39 and ed's. restoration in P. Ent. 81. 22.
 172. The last letter might possibly be χ instead of ι .

173-90. Too little remains of this ordinance to determine its content with any precision. The words $\phi\epsilon\lambda\omega$ and $\phi\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ and the contexts in which they are used suggest analogies with the preceding $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$, and it is possible that both belong to the same category of prescription. From the point of view of form, the ordinance is noteworthy for the absence of the introductory formula $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, as is also the case in P. Petr. iii. 20, V ii. 1-9 (M. T. Lenger, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 27 (1952), No. III, p. 222). The prescript contains only the reference, in personal form, to the mode by which the ordinance was promulgated through the agency of a certain Theon (*Chronique d'Égypte*, loc. cit. pp. 229-31). On the identification of this man with the Theon of P. Petr. iii. 20, R iv, which is of first importance for the dating of 198, see the introduction.

173. There is a space equivalent to one letter between $\alpha\pi\eta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ and the trace of ink which follows.

177. After $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ possibly τ might be read, certainly not ν .

179. After $\theta\epsilon\alpha\mu\omicron$ neither ν , ν ($\theta\epsilon\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$, - $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$), ϕ ($\theta\epsilon\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) nor θ ($\theta\epsilon\alpha\mu\theta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$) can be verified.

182. The dotted initial letter might with less probability be read as τ .

187-8. Possibly restore $\delta\alpha\epsilon\lceil\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\epsilon\lceil\tau\alpha\iota$ and treat it as part of the formula (δ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha$) which in several contemporary royal ordinances and other regulative enactments expresses recourse to the crown's special jurisdiction. Cf. SB. 8008. i. 14, ii. 5-6 and WB. s.v. $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota$.

189. Cf. 151-2, 165.

191-6. This royal $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$, the object of which is unknown, contains in ll. 191-3 two phrases which recur in 216 and 221, but in no more explicit a context.

Col. ix. 197-210. $\omega\acute{\nu}\alpha\varsigma$ (l. 207) (on which cf. F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 115-23), the only complete word here preserved, is of too general a sense in Ptolemaic papyri to help to define the content of this fragmentary column. Cf. also frs. 8, V 5, and 13, V 8.

Col. x. 211-32 is on the verso of recto col. ii, and in the same state of mutilation as the recto. At the head is a date probably belonging to a $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ of Philadelphus year 25 (261/0). Of the two following fragments of ordinances neither object nor nature can be determined.

212. The date corresponds to (Julian) Nov./Dec. 261 B.C.

213. Other allusions to Hermopolis or the Hermopolite nome occur in this document in ll. 2, 130.

214. The restoration [ϵ] κ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ δ [$\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, suggested with reserve, is based on SB. 8008. i. 6-7, P. Teb. 769. 79, P. Col. Zen. 120. 15, P. Teb. 703. 96-7, 132-3; cf. also P. Col. Inv. 480. 1 and O. Tait. O. Bodl. 277. 1-2.

215. The dotted letter might be read as ω instead of ϕ .

216. Restoration based on ll. 191-2.

220. The traces of ink at the beginning of the line might belong to a λ or a χ , unless

a ligature is involved. For ἐξιδιάζεσθαι cf., in addition to *WB*. s.v., *P. Ryl.* 663. iii. 9 and *SB.* 7657. 14.

221. Cf. the formula in ll. 192-3.

222. The initial trace of ink might be ι (e.g. δικά[ι]ον) or τ.

226. After δε possibly σπ, σμ or even ση; after ο, τ rather than υ.

227. A slight doubt attaches to the reading ἐκτον, and ἐκ τῶν, though less probable, cannot be excluded. Thereafter neither μέρο[ς] nor μέτρο[ν] can be read. After μ a trace which might be ε, then a break in the papyrus, and at its right-hand edge a vertical stroke, followed by a horizontal, then the ρ.

230. Cf. 217.

231. Restore, e.g., οἱ τὰ βασιλ[ικὰ] πραγματευόμενοι (cf. ll. 141-2 n.). For οἱ τὰ βασιλ[ικὰ] καὶ προσδικὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ κρίνοντες (cf. *P. Amh.* 33. 9-10 and *UPZ.* 118. 6) there does not seem to be room if the separate fragment is correctly placed.]σοντ[cannot be read as]σοντ[, i.e. κρι[τ]σοντ[ες].

Col. xi. 233-45. 235 ff.: 'but those who bring charges against . . . or those against whom the latter bring charges are to obtain justice before the appointed court. They are to be judged on [these] charges in conformity with the ordinances before the courts which concern [them] in each district. Should any dispute arise about . . . as is prescribed in the *diagramma* . . . the strategus in each [nome] will act as judge conjointly with the nomarch and . . . Year 5, Peritios.'

This fragment of ordinance relative to the rules of jurisdictional competence is on the verso of col. i. Its subject does not allow a decision *a priori* as to whether it should be classed as a *πρόσταγμα* (for examples in matters of competence *P. Tib.* 5. 207-20 = *M. Chr.* 1 = *Jur. Pap.* 75, *P. Tib.* 7 = *M. Chr.* 7, *P. Tib.* 707. 9-10) or a *διάγραμμα* (cf., e.g., *P. Petr.* iii. 36 (a) V = *M. Chr.* 5. 10-19, *O. Tait.* O. Bodl. 277, *P. Petr.* iii. 21 (g) = *M. Chr.* 21. 11 = *P. Gurob* 2. 10-11). Though the prescript is missing, the concluding date formula is in favour of the former.

The attribution of year 5 to Euergetes (243/2) rather than to Philadelphus (281/0) is based mainly on the interpretation of ll. 240-4. The rule there enunciated seems to define a case in which the strategus and nomarch exercise jurisdiction conjointly, and this tendency, in the evolution of the strategus' functions, to extend his responsibilities to the civil sphere and in particular to jurisdiction hardly appears before the middle of the third century (cf. H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie*, iii, pp. 35-40).

In view of the lacunae which conceal their concrete and precise object, it is difficult to say whether those measures in this ordinance which prescribe appearances before different courts belong to a general law defining competence or whether they represent only a partial aspect of regulations bearing on another matter.

The width of the column of writing is 14.5 cm. at l. 238. This is 4-5 cm. less than the width of col. vii, and suggests a loss to left and right totalling between 9 and 12 letters.

233. ω for α is not excluded.

234. The initial trace of ink might be part of δ (e.g. μῆ[δ] δέχεσθαι μῆδ[έ]να or μῆ[δ] δ' ἐχεσθαι μῆδ[έ]ν).

235. The reading [. . .] ων is divined from the preceding τῶν. On palaeographical grounds it is not possible to decide between ἀκαλοῦν[τας] or ἀκαλουμ[ένους], but if the pronoun οὗτοι is rightly interpreted, as the context suggests, as referring to the persons qualified by the preceding dative τοῖς, the former restoration is preferable.

236-7. For the restoration cf. ΕΝΤΕΤΕΙΞΙΣ, Index, s.v. τὸ δίκαιον λαβεῖν and ὅπως κατὰ

τοὺς νόμους τὰ δίκαιον λαβῶναι, P. Petr. iii. 36 (a) V = M. Chr. 5. 15-16, P. Teb. 5. 213-14, 263. The expression ἐν τῷ ἀποδ. κριτ. is a variant for ἐπὶ τοῦ δ. κ. 151-2, 165 above. At the end of the line perhaps complete the restoration by τούτων.

238-9. The lacuna referred to the relevant ordinances, *προτάγματα* or *διαγράμματα* (or even *προτάγματα* καὶ *διαγράμματα*). P. Teb. 5 = M. Chr. 36. 261-4 states particularly clearly the principle according to which litigants are to appear before the competent courts and be judged according to the laws in force. (Cf. also P. Petr. iii. 21 (g) = M. Chr. 21. 43 ff. = P. Gurob 2. 40 ff., SB. 5675. 10-11.

239. *ν*[ο]μῶν cannot be read instead of *τ*[ε]σων. Restore *ἐν ἐκείνοις* (cf. P. Teb. 5. 263) or *ἐν αὐτοῖς* (ibid. 66, 227).

241. Initial traces of ink might belong to one of the diphthongs *αι*, *ει*, *ου*, *ηι*, or to the letter *η*. The type of formula employed here to quote the *διάγραμμα* on which are based the rules enunciated in 240-4 is attested in many connections in laws and regulations: SB. 8008. ii. 21-2 (*καθὼς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς μεθώσεως γέγραπται*); Rev. Laws, col. 103. 3-4 (*καθὼς [γ]έγραπται ἐν τῷ [ε] διαβ[ω]ματι τούτῳ = the formula τῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ διαγράμματι γεγραμμένης*, Rev. Laws, col. 39. 16-17 and often); P. Petr. iii. 21 (g) = M. Chr. 21. 45 = P. Gurob 2. 42-3. The lacuna therefore probably contained an indication of the object of the ordinance, by analogy with such texts as Rev. Laws, col. 73. 1, P. Col. Zen. 54. 50, P. Col. Inv. 480. 1, O. Tait. O. Bodl. 277. 1-2. In view of the context, it can only be a *διάγραμμα* relative to the organization of special jurisdiction, to be compared with P. Petr. iii. 36 (a) V = M. Chr. 5. 10-19 (see the version of Berneker, *Sondergerichtsbarkeit*, pp. 50-1).

242-3. The restoration τὸν ἐν ἐκείνῳ νομῷ στρατηγῶν which seems to us inevitable involves, as an important consequence, carrying back to an earlier date than H. Bengtson does (op. cit. pp. 32-5) the organization of the *strategus'* functions in his capacity as head of the administration of a nome. This reform must, in fact, be assigned to the beginning of the reign of Euergetes, or probably even to his predecessor.

These lines, though they do not unfortunately bring the precision desired, offer an additional testimony concerning the special jurisdiction of the *strategus* exercised conjointly with the nomarch (recent bibliography in Berneker, loc. cit. pp. 108-13, R. Seider, *Beiträge z. ptolem. Verwaltungsgesch. Der Nomarches* . . ., pp. 36-7, Bengtson, op. cit. pp. 35-40). Till now two documents were known on this question, a legislative document, P. Petr. iii. 26. 1-4 (now Bodleian MS. Gr. Class. d. 27) and a document of judicial practice, P. Teb. 772. The first is a fragment of an ordinance, dated by handwriting to the middle of the third century, whose first four lines (revised by us and corrected in ll. 1 and 2) run: . . . τ[ο]ὺς τοπάρχ[ας] . . . | κρίματα κηρύσσει εἰς τοὺς φόρους ἢ τὰ[ς] ψή[φ]ις | ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν νομάρχην μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγ[οῦ]· ἐὰν δὲ τις | παρὰ ταῦτα κρίνη ἢ κηρύξῃ, ἀκυρὰ ἔστω. The second is a petition addressed to the nomarch Asclepiades by a defaulting collector of the ἀνάμνημα who requests to be judged by a συνέδριον composed of the nomarch, oeconomus, ἀντιγραφεὺς and *strategus*.

The term *ἐπισκοπὴ* (l. 242), which evokes the idea of an administrative enquiry (cf., e.g., P. Teb. 703. 47), is to be compared with the expression ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποδεχόμενων ἐπισκοπῇ used in the *διάγραμμα* P. Petr. iii. 36 (a) V = M. Chr. 5. 16-17 to describe the judges specially qualified to judge complaints made against officials.

244. The word *συντελεῖσθαι* should be compared with the following passage of the same document, ll. 18-19: . . . ἢ θῆσθαι | συντελεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὸ κρίμα].

Fragments. Fr. 3, R 5. Not *τ*[ο]σφραχ[ς] or *ν*[ο]μάρχ[ς].

Fr. 5. Spacing on the verso excludes the possibility of assigning this fragment to recto col. iv or recto col. vi. The suggested allocation to recto col. iii is very uncertain.

Fr. 6. This fragment can be placed so that recto is part of col. vi and the second column on the verso is part of col. vii; a *κόλλημα* runs down it vertically and continues the line of a

κόλημα higher up. Though such placing appears nearly certain,¹ we have hesitated to show it in the text. If this suggestion is correct, the second verso column of the fragment preserves the initial letters of ll. 161-4 (see the attempted restoration of these lines), while the ends of lines of the preceding column are part of a column of writing not elsewhere identifiable on the verso which preceded col. vii.

Fr. 6, R 3. e.g. *πραγμα* | *τεύεσθαι*. 6. *γραμμα* | *εἰς*? On the notion of *τάγμα* in the Ptolemaic army see P. Frankf. 7, R i. 5-6, P. Rein. 14 = M. Chr. 132. 31, P. Rein. 15. 30, 22. 30, SB. 7204. 5, Lesquier, op. cit. pp. 92-3, Launey, op. cit. p. 125, n. 2, pp. 129, 363, 1122.

199. PRIESTLY ANNALS

Mummy A.

5 × 9.5 cm.

c. 270-250 B.C.

This exiguous scrap from what appear to be priestly or religious annals makes it clear that the cult of Philadelphus and his sister Arsinoë was established in Alexandria by the fourteenth year of Philadelphus at the latest (l. 15 n.), that is in 272/1 B.C., certainly while Arsinoë was still alive. The inference of Grenfell and Hunt (99, introd.) is thus confirmed.

The form of the record is: (1) 2 names, probably with patronymics; (2) a short statement of notable religious events during the tenure of office of one of them, who gives his name to the year (*ἐπὶ τούτου*). The surviving text covers three or more years. Fortunately the central one is explicitly marked as year 14, and the reliability of this date is confirmed by the fact that the second name given for the following year is known to be that of the eponymous priest of Alexander, etc., for 271/0 B.C. Probably the second name for the previous year (l. 5 n.) is also that of the eponymous priest. This raises the interesting question, which I cannot answer, to which office the first name is to be applied. It is presumably connected in an important manner with religious administration. As events in the annals seem to relate to all Egypt, and the holder appears to be a Greek, it seems unlikely that this office is that of *ἀρχιερεὺς* of a local temple.

The scrap is written in a slovenly, smallish square cursive to be assigned to the second half of Philadelphus' reign.

Col. i: ends of lines opposite col. ii: 6] . . *space* ¹⁰]ν ¹¹]ττη ¹²]ηρις
¹³]και ¹⁴]ωις *space*, then traces opposite l. 19.

Col. ii

. . .
 [. .] . . . [. .]
 [. .] υροθ[
 . . . τω[

¹ Dr. Barns' examination confirms this suggested placing.

Λεοντ[
 5 ... Νεομ[ή]θης . [
 καὶ Περίτιον ε. [
 ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ σου[
 υς καὶ ἡ πόλις δ . [
 ὑπὸ βασιλέως Πτ[ολεμαίου]
 10 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου [
 Διοσκουρίδης Ἄρσ[
 (ἔτους) ἰδ Καλλικράτης[
 ἐπὶ τούτου Ἡρα[
 δος ἦλθεν εἰς Αἶγ[υπτίους (?)]
 15 καὶ πρὸς τὰ συνα[λλάγματα]
 προσεγράφη ἱερ[εὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου]
 καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελ[φῶν
 .. ἦων Μοσχ[ῶνος
 Πάτροκλος Μ[
 20 [ἐπ]ὶ τούτου [
 [. .] . . [, π]ρὸς τ[
 [. . .] ροκ[

4. A *Λεοντίος* Καλλιμήδους is known from 110. 40 and P. Cair. Zen. 59001 as eponymous priest for the 12th year. It is not likely that his name should be restored here, where one would expect to find the first of the pair for year 13. I cannot identify anywhere a paragraphus like that after ll. 10 and 17, but the marginal traces at l. 5 might represent (ἔτους) ιγ. Περίτιον, l. 6, suggests that there was perhaps a confusion in this year. Perhaps one holder died in office. From the use of the Macedonian month, the year is clearly the Greek regnal year.

5. Νεομ[ή]θης : the N and δ are the only certain letters. In 110. 44 the first three letters of the eponymous priest for year 13 are read as Νεα[.

7. Σοῦ[χου ?

8. υς might be read with less probability as 79. The η before πόλις is very uncertain. It comes at a break in the papyrus, and, e.g., Καμήπολις could be read, but is not attested. At the end, the second last letter might also be λ or α.

15. 'In contracts the additional words "Of Alexander and the Brother and Sister gods" were added to the term "priest".'

18. Or .. ῶων.

19. In 99. 3 and 128 the eponymous priest for year 15 is given as Πάτροκλος Πάτρωνος, the famous admiral. If Π[άτρωνος] was in fact written here, the Π was formed quite differently from the way in which the scribe made it elsewhere. Possibly the writer has confused μ and π (often almost indistinguishable) in his exemplar.

200. DEPOSITION BY A WITNESS

Mummy A.

29.5 × 13 cm.

Euergetes

This text appears to be a deposition or *μαρτυρία* (l. 7, *ἦι καὶ μαρτυ[ρῶ]*), and as such is rare¹ in papyri. The witness was walking down the street with some friends and was attracted to the noise of what appears to have been a party held in a room looking on to the street. He arrived in time to see Athenais, infuriated by a laugh from Chrysis (to judge from their names both women were probably *ἐταῖραι*), leap from her seat, box Chrysis' ears and tear her clothes, and to get involved in the scuffle himself.

The hand is a well-formed cursive to be assigned to the reign of Euergetes, but the ink is often effaced or confused by offsets of other writing, and the fibres on the right-hand side are tattered. The writing is across the fibres as is customary in *ἐντεύξεις*, and possibly this deposition was itself attached to or made in support of a petition for redress submitted by Chrysis. At the top a line written by another hand perhaps records the witness' age and personal description. The restorations assume that the full width of the papyrus was the 32 or 33 cm. normal for *ἐντεύξεις*. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Professor T. B. L. Webster.

(1st hand) [c. 10] ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ . [. .] . . [

(2nd hand) [c. 10] . . [. .] . Θεοφί[λ] ἐπι-]

πορευομένην μου καὶ ἄλλων τυ[φῶ]ν τῇμ πλατείᾳ καὶ γενομένου

[c. 20]

Θαλίάρχος ὃς καὶ Πάτρων καλεῖται ἐργάζεται π[ρὸς] γραφικῇ
ἐξ ἐκ[c. 20]5 πλατείᾳς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς λίβα μέρους ἐχόμενον τυγχ[άν]η . . [c. 25]
προσέστημεν καὶ ἑώρων Χρυσίδα [καὶ] ἄλλους πολλοὺς ξνδον καθημένους.

Ἀθην[α]ῖς δὲ [αὐτῇ] (ἦν γὰρ ἡ)

Χρυσὶς ἀπατέρω καθημένη) ἐλοιδόρει Χρυσίδα ἦι καὶ μαρτυ[ρῶ]. Χρυ-
σίδος δὲ γελ[ώσης ἑώρων]Ἀθηναῖδα ἀναπηδήσασαν ἐξ οὗ ἐκάθητο τόπου καὶ προσελθοῦ[σαν]
. ωτιζ[. . .] τρυς . [12-16]ἀριστεράν ἄλλην πλ[α]τείαις εἰς τὸ Χρυσίδος προσῶπον καὶ ἐπιλα-
β[ομένην] τῶν [c. 10]

¹ P. Petr. iii. 22 (b)-(d) (= ii. 17. 2-4), the nearest parallels, are in an even more fragmentary condition.

10 κ[αὶ ὃν ἐν]εδεδύκη χιτῶνα λινούν ἐπιλαβομένη διέρρηξεν. ε[ἴτα κ]αὶ
 τῷς π[αρόντας c. 10]
 [.] ἦσαι εἰς τὰς πλεύρας. ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραξεν [. . .] . . .
 [. . .] [c. 8]
 [. . . εἴ]τα ἐμέ [τ]ε καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐπεμαρτύρε[τ]ο τ[α]ῦτα . . . [

‘ . . . aged about thirty years . . .

As I and some others were crossing the street and [a disturbance arose at the house where] Thaliarchos, also called Patron, works at the fullery, [coming from the room] which happens to be adjacent to the street on its south side . . . , we halted close by, and I saw Chrysis and many other persons sitting inside. Athenais here was sitting some way off from Chrysis (for whom I am testifying) and began abusing her. Chrysis laughed, and I saw Athenais leap up out of her seat, approach Chrysis [and hit her with her] left hand and then slap her in the face with the flat of both hands and seize her. . . . Then she seized the linen shift she had on and tore it in two. Next the bystanders . . . This she did . . . [Then Chrysis] called on me and the bystanders to be witnesses to the scene. . . .’

3. For ἐπιπορεύεσθαι with simple accusative cf. the Polybian use in sense of ‘traverse’.

At the end of the line, *exempli gratia*, γενομένου [θορύβου κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ].

4. At end, e.g., ἐξ ἐνείκτου τοῦ οἰκτῆματος ὃ ἂν τῆς]. For the proper name Thaliarchos in the third century cf. P. Eleph. 4. 1. 9, verso 1. 5; P.S.I. 617. 13 (cf. viii addenda); *IG*² ii-iii. 9132. 2; *IG* xii. 9, 787. 2.

8. In .ωτιζέ, ω and ζ are certain, τι probable, while before ω, ν could be read. But it is not easy to accommodate the subsequent traces to a part of ωτιζω (e.g. ωτιζόντη αἰσθη καὶ πατάσσαν), nor does LSJ offer any example of this verb except in the aorist tense (restricted to the tragedians).

9. ἄλλην: sc. πληγὴν. For πλατείαις cf., e.g., Aristoph. *Frogs* 1096.

At the end, ὥτων, ἱματίων and a further verb? In the next line the construction after εἴρων appears to be dropped and the statement made directly.

10. For the third person termination in -η in the pluperfect see Mayser, *Grammatik*¹, i, p. 322.

201. PETITION TO THE KING

Mummy A 10.

17 × 13 cm.

c. 250-240 B.C.

This scrap, together with 235 and 236, all of them ἐντεύξεις addressed to the king, are from the same mummy. As 236 relates to the Oxyrhynchite nome, all are probably to be referred to that nome. The subscriptions to these petitions are of interest because of their letter-form. Aristion (ll. 6, 8, 11) appears also in 202 (presumably, therefore, also from the Oxyrhynchite nome, though it is not from the same mummy), where he is identified, with Hieronymus, as epistates, and probably also in 235. Dorion is presumably his superior. He may be identical with the Oxyrhynchite epistates mentioned in 34. 2 (and perhaps also 73), but one would rather expect him to be the strategus of the nome.

In all these fragments, the handwriting (which runs across the fibres) is characteristic of the later years of Philadelphus or the early years of Euergetes.

Faint traces of 4 lines

5 [IO] .. *τες καὶ ἀναθρέψαντες ἀπέδωκεν*
 .. [. . . .] .. *της Ἀριστ[ί]ωνι κατ' αὐτῶν. Ἀριστίων [δὲ
 προστ[αχθῆ]ν αὐτῶν. δέομαι [ο]ῦν [σ]οφ, βα[σι]λεὺ συντάξαι
 γράφαι [Ἀριστ]ίωνι ἐπισκέψασθαι ταῦτα καὶ [ἐὰν ᾗ ἀληθῆ ἃ γράφω
 ἐπαναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια]
 ποιῆσαι, ἔαν δὲ ἀπειθῶσιν καταγράψαι αὐτῶν [ἀλ-]
 10 λὰ τοῦ δικαίου [τύχῳ] [εὐ]τύχει.
 (2nd hand) Δωρίων Ἀριστ[ί]ωνι χαίρειν. ἐπισκεψάμενος . [
 ἃ γράφει διὰ τῆς ἐντετύξεως Ἀμμιά[ς] κ[α]τὰ Νικαρέτης καὶ . [
 ἐπαναγκασον αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιῆσαι [
 τοῖς . ρ εἰρη[. .] .. τὴν ἐντετυξίν ἀνατε[*

202. PETITION TO THE KING

Mummy A 13.

17 x 11 cm.

c. 250-240 B.C.

Pleistainos complains to the king about a robbery in which he lost his clothing. For the persons concerned in the subscription cf. 201 introduction.

Βασίλει Πτολεμαίω[ι] χαίρειν Πλείσταιν[ος] ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ καὶ
 λων τινῶν ἐν τῷ εὐδαιμονισμῷ τῆς Ζη[ἀλ-]
 εἰας ἐξέδυσάν μέ τινες ἐντυχόντες ὁ εἰχ[ον ἱμάτιον
 ἀγγελῶν τῷ ἐπιστ[ά]τῃ. δέομ[α]ι οὖν σοῦ βασι[λε]υ συντάξαι
 γράφαι
 5 [Ἀ]ριστίωνι καὶ Ἱερωνύμ[ω]ι τοῖς ἐπιστάταις ἐὰν ᾗ [ἀληθῆ ἃ γράφω
 ἐπαναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς]
 ἀποδοῦναι μοι ἅπαντα [ᾗ] τοῦ ἱματίου τ[ὴν ἀξίαν εὐ]τύχει.]
 (2nd hand) [Δω]ρίων Ἀριστ[ί]ωνι καὶ Ἱερωνύμ[ω]ι χαῖ[ρ]ειν. ἐπισκεψ[ί]μενοι ἃ [
 [γρά]φει διὰ τῆς ἐντετύξεως Πλ[ε]ίσταινος ἐπισκ[α]λέσασθε (?)
 φ[υ]λακίτης τ . . [] ἔρωσθε . [

2. *εὐδαιμονισμός*: not elsewhere in papyri, and not recorded anywhere in the sense of 'celebration', possibly a funeral celebration or 'wake', which the context seems to require. I assume that ζῆ[ι] is part of a name (e.g. Ζηνοδόρας) rather than a noun such as, e.g., ζῆ[ι]της.

203. PETITION OR MEMORANDUM

Mummy A.

11 × 27.5 cm.

Euergetes

In this draft of a petition or *ὑπόμνημα* the writer requests an investigation into the conduct of certain persons, firstly against an unknown who is alleged to have sold two of the writer's slaves, secondly against Philippus, *ἀρχιφυλακίτης* of the Koite toparchy, who is alleged to have imprisoned another slave. In both cases the writer asks for copies of the judgements given. His awkward and ambiguous phrasing (he leaves out all connectives) makes it hard to establish preceding events with certainty. It seems that both officials had failed to appear before the bench of *chrematistae* (from whom they had received an *ἀντέντευξις*), and that judgements had been promulgated against them. The papyrus, mutilated and abraded at the top, is badly blotched, and the handwriting is crude and ill-formed.

Faint traces of 6 lines

- 7 [.] καὶ ἀντέντευξιν λαβῶ[ν]
 διὰ ὑπηρέτου Διονυσίου παρὰ
 τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ οὐ συ[νην-]
 10 τήσα[ς] ἐπ[ὶ τ]ὴν κρίσιν διὰ τὸ πεπρα-
 κέναι μου σώματα δύο. δέομαί σου]
 ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ δοῦναί μοι ἀντί-
 γραφα τῆς γνώσεως.
 καὶ κατὰ Φιλίππου ἀρχιφυλα-
 15 κίτου τοῦ Κωίτου ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 χρηματιστῶν· ἀντέντευξιν λα-
 βὼν διὰ Δωρίωνος \ἐπιστάτου/ οὐ συνήντε-
 σεν διὰ τὸ ἀπαγαγεῖν μου παῖ-
 20 δα ἀδίκως εἰς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον.
 ἀπήχθη εἰς τοὺς κριτὰς καὶ
 περὶ τούτου γνώσιν ἐξέθη-
 καν. δέομαί σου καὶ περὶ τού-
 του ἐπισκεψάμενον δοῦναί
 μοι τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἵνα λα[β]ῶ
 25 περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν χρημα-
 τισμὸν.

8. l. ὑπηρέτου.

17. l. συνήντησεν.

20. l. ἀπήχθη.

‘ . . . received a summons (?) from the chrematistae through Dionysius, attendant, and did not make an appearance at the trial on account of having sold two slaves of mine. I request you to investigate and give me copies of the judgement.

‘ And against Philippos, archiphylakites of the Koite toparchy, before the same bench of chrematistae: he received a summons (?) through Dorion, epistates, but did not make an appearance on account of having unjustly haled a slave of mine off to prison. He was brought before the judges and they promulgated a judgement about him. I request you to investigate his case too, and to give me a copy so that I may have the record in both cases.’

7. ἀντίτευξιν: cf. 16. The term has not so far been recorded. From the context it appears to mean a ‘ counter-petition ’, ‘ summons ’ or ‘ subpoena ’ officially served by the chrematistae on a person required to appear before them.

9. συ[ν]ή[ρ]η[σ]ιν[s]: it seems likely that the same word was used here as in 17–18 infra, in spite of the different aorist form in the latter case (cf. similar form in P. Petr. ii. 4, 6, 8). συναρτήσαι τινι is used in P. Enteux. 65. 4 for ‘ to answer an opponent ’ in a court of law.

10. Perhaps the writer intended the διὰ τὸ phrase, both here and in l. 18, to signify the charge against the official, not the reason for his non-appearance.

17. Dorion is possibly the ἐπιστάτης mentioned in 71, 72.

18. παῖδα: in view of οὐμάστα l. 11, probably also a slave.

20. ἀπήχθη: Philippos or the slave? ἀπήχθη suggests forcible arrest, and may therefore be the former.

21. ἐξέθηκεν: with γνώωιν also in P. Petr. iii. 20, R iii. 7 (where ἐκτεθῆναι should clearly be read instead of εἰσσεθῆναι, and has been confirmed for me by Mr. C. H. Roberts as the reading of the papyrus).

24. λ[α]β[ε] is a most dubious reading, but must represent the sense.

26. The absence of closing greeting, as well as the execrable hand-writing, make it certain that the text is a draft. Possibly it consists of notes to be passed on to a professional scribe.

204. UNDERTAKING BY AN EMPLOYEE

Mummy A.

24 × 18 cm.

Euergetes

This almost illegible text is written in a small rounded cursive hand to be assigned to the reign of Euergetes. Though the top margin is preserved, its opening lines are mutilated, and its exact nature and purpose are obscure. From l. 4 to the end it consists of an undertaking made on oath (l. 13) to perform certain services to a person described as *ὁ παραλαβών με*. The declarant guarantees (ll. 6 ff.) not to divert articles to his own use, not to contract for jobs unless *ὁ παραλαβών* thinks them just, not to take bribes to the prejudice of the affairs *εἰς ᾧ παρείληπται*, and not to hurt *ὁ παραλαβών* from either fear or favour.

A legal process described by the verb *παραλαμβάνειν* is known from Ptolemaic texts (discussed in P. Hal. p. 89), and appears to mean the detention of an accused person in order to ensure his presence in court when he fails himself to provide sureties for his appearance. Such a process, involving the use of duress by the state, does not fit the circumstances of this text, where the

engagement is a voluntary one in favour of a single individual, the declarant undertakes to abstain from certain actions which hardly seem open to a person under detention, and the payment of a customary fee (ll. 5-7) seems to be an acknowledgement of favours received or expected.

The phrase in ll. 10-12 τὰ πράγματα εἰς ἃ παρείλημμαι suggests the engagement of an assistant or employee for certain tasks. If so, this contract is a voluntary undertaking, limiting his liberties in certain directions, given by a person seeking employment. Such a sense for ὁ παραλαβών, used without a defining accusative, is not far removed from one commonly found in contemporary official directions to subordinates (e.g. 75. 6 παραλαβόντες τὸν κωμογραμματέα περιμετρήσατε κτλ.). Possibly such an undertaking was required of minor officials by their immediate superiors. But the flavour of semi-feudal, semi-personal dependence in 204 seems better applicable to the employees of powerful individuals, and it is perhaps no accident that it is written on the verso of 211, which there is some reason for thinking consists of the household accounts of an established dignitary. The 'guarantees' (τὰ βέβαια) which a correspondent in P. Mich. Zen. 45. 13 urges Zeno to exact from workmen constructing a παράδεισος must have resembled this undertaking. Cf. also the ὄρκος in P.S.I. 515, and the γνωστήρες offered by the weaver Apolophanes in P.S.I. 341. In any case the text must be a *pro forma*, for no personal names or descriptions can be detected in it, while the person in whose favour the declaration is made is described indifferently in the singular and plural (l. 6).

- [21-24] ἐφ[. . . ὁ π]αραλαβών ἱκαν[. ν
[27-30] ν κριτῶν ἢ τ[ῶ]ν
[15-17] π . . . [.] οὐδ[ἐ]ν μετ[α] . . [10] . .
[12-14] πρ[αγ]μ[ε]τ[ρ]ῶν ἀλλὰ συγκαταστήσεσθαι
5 [5-7 τῶι] παραλαμβάν[ον]τί με ἐὰν μὴ συνβάντος τινὸς
[6-8] πείσω τοὺς παραλα[βόν]τας ἀφείναι με τῆς συνη-
[. .] . . [.] . [.] δέσμης διὰ τ[ῶ]ν ιδίω[ν] πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ οὐ-
[δὲ] κομ[ε]ί[σθαι] κατ' ἐμαυτὸν οὐδ' ἐργολαβήσῃν πράγματα
ἐὰν μ[ὴ] σοι φαίνηται εἶ[ναι] δίκαια, καὶ οὔτε δῶρα λήψεσθαι
10 παρενρ[ε]σ[σιν] οὐδεμῶδ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τ[ῶ]ν πραγμάτων εἰς ἃ
παρείλημμαι, οὐδὲ χάριτος ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ἔχθρας βλάψει[ν]
[τὸν] παραλαβόντα με ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι πρὸς ἃ παρείλημμ[αι].
ἐ[ὕ]πορκ[ο]νται μέμ μοι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ γίνονται, ἐπιποροῦντι
δ[ὲ] τὰ ἐ]ναντία.

4 ff. ' . . . (but I swear that) I will appear in court . . . for my employer, unless some accident occurs and I persuade my employers to release me from providing the . . . bundle in full assent by private means ; I will not divert articles to my own use, nor contract for jobs unless they seem just to you ; I will not take bribes on any pretext to the prejudice of the affairs for which I have been taken into employment ; and neither for fear or favour will I hurt my employer in the affairs for which I have been taken into employment. May many benefits befall me if I keep my oath, the opposite if I break it.'

4. *συγκαταστήσεσθαι*, T. C. Skeat, for *σφρ καταστήσεσθαι* which I had read.

6. [*ἀνθρωπίνου*] is too long.

7. Conceivably *συνή[θο]ν[ς] μ[ο]ν[ο]δ[ο]ξίας* might be read. If so, one might suppose that in this practice lay the germ of the money taxes of the Roman period known as *μονοδοξίας* (especially the *μονοδοξία χάστου*), for which see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 72 ff. In any case a customary fee must be intended.

205. OFFICIAL REPORT

Mummy A.

20 × 26 cm.

260-250 B.C.

This text offers the draft of an official report on a petition submitted by owners of vineyards in the Heliopolite or Memphite nome. Reading and interpretation, difficult enough in view of the tattered state of the papyrus and effacement of the ink, are made harder by the writer's many alterations and corrections. Three methods were used: he washed out the writing with a sponge, he drew lines through it, or he enclosed passages of which he disapproved between what look like large curved brackets. The hand is a competent and fairly large official cursive belonging to the reign of Philadelphus.

The subject in dispute is the amount of the tax on vineyards (*φόρος τῆς ἐμπελίου*), which in pursuance of a royal instruction (*ἐντολή*, ll. 11 and 33) was to be collected at the rate of 26 drachmae $3\frac{1}{2}$ obols per aroura. The author of this report (no doubt himself an official of standing) had already protested to the high official Athenagoras, advocating a different rate. He proceeds to summarize the general position. Owners of vineyards, described as poor ones, at Heliopolis had all apparently paid without protest, while the present petitioners, farming productive vineyards near Memphis and close to the Nile, were the only objectors. It is pointed out that though Apollonius (who can only be the dioecetes) had often been present in the area, no petition had been presented to him, either personally or in writing, and the protest is ascribed to the encouragement of an intransigent nomarch Achoapis. It is possible that the discussions about tax relief in 243, in which also Athenagoras and Apollonius figure, concern the same question. '

- τ[
 π[
 ψ . [
 των[
 5 ἀπο[
 εισπ[ρασσ
 one line
 [π]αρά τοῦ βασιλέω[ς] π[c. 16-18 τῶν]
 [. . .]σάντων ἐν τῷ Ἑλλιοι[πολείτη c. 8-10 ἀντί-]
 [γρα]φα ἐκτεθ[ῆ]ναι πρό τῶν ἱερῶν (?) c. 10-12
 10 [εἰσπ]ράσσειν τῆς (ἀρούρας) (δραχμὰς) κς (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον)
 κα[12
 [8-10 παρ]ούση[ι] ἐντολήι οὐ παρη[10-12
 [. . .]ντιγέγραμμαι Ἀ[θ]ηναγόρα[ι 8-10 παρὰ]
 [. . .]σι τῆς φ. [. . .] τῆς ἀμπελου τῆς τοῦ λα[
 [μη]θενὸς πράσσειν [τὸν φόρον τῆς [ἀ]μπ[έλου
 [. . .]εν . . . ρ[. . .] . . ο 12 []]
 15 [. τ.]ῆς (ἀρούρας) (δραχμὰς) εἰσέπρα[σσειν . .]ων . . ἀμ[π]έλου καὶ ε .
 } τὸν χάρτην καὶ τὸν χρηματισμόν
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἑλλίου πόλεως
 [. . .] [ῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν εἶναι οἱ ἐν]
 [γῆ[. κατοικοῦντες] ἐκτῆμένοι ἐν τοῖς
 τό[πο]ις τοῖς περὶ Ἑλλίου πόλιν καταδεεστέροψ[ς]
 20 [ἀμ]πελώνας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ
 [νομ]ῶι καταβεβλήκασιν πλην ὀλέγων τ[ῶ]ν
 [. . .] ἰσχυόντων· οὗτοι δὲ μ[όν]οι ^{πρὸς τὰς προσ[ό]δο[us]} [τὴν ἐντευξιν
 [παρ]αβαίνουσιν
 [ἐμβ]εβλήκασιν] λυσιτελ[σ]τάτους ἀμπελώνα[ς]
 ἔχοντες
 [[. . .] ἐκτῆμένοι] καὶ διὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν . . [. . .]αγ
]ν [αἰ] εἶναι τῆς Μέμφεως πρὸς αὐτῶι τῷ πο(ταμῶι)
 25 [[. . .] τῶι καιροῖα] τὸν τόπον [ἔχειν] πρὸς τῷ
 [[πο]ταμῶι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Μέμφει]. ἐπισυνίσταν-
 [ται] δὲ διὰ Ἀρχοάπιος τοῦ νομάρχου. ^{βούλεται γὰρ [οὐ]τος} [οὗτος γὰρ
 [β]ούλεται] κατὰ πάντα τρόπον τὴν πράξειν

[ω]ς ἐλαχίστην προεῖν. καὶ ἐπ' ἀπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ μέγ
 30 [Ἐπὶ] ἀπολλωνίου πλεονάκις οὐτε ἐνέτυχον αὐτοῖς
 [ο]ὔτε ἐντεύξιν ἐνέβαλον οὐδεμίαν [.]
 [πρὸς Α] τ. του [. . .] του νῦν ἀντιλέγουσιν καὶ πάλιν Ἀθηναγόρου
 [[Ἐ]πὶ ἀθηναγόρου [.] τῇ ἐντεύξει] [λέγουσιν]
 [. . .] blank [κομισαὶ τὴν ἐντολήν]
 [τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως] καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν (?) ἐκθε[ί]ν[αι]
 Traces of two more lines

‘ . . . [instruction] from the king . . . those in the Heliopolite nome . . . copies to be posted in front of the . . . to exact 26 dr. 3½ obols per aroura . . . the instruction . . . I wrote back to Athenagoras . . . to collect from no one the revenue on vineland . . . ’

16. ‘ And those in Heliopolis (*cancelled*: among whose number these very persons settled in . . . claim to be), possessing relatively poor vineyards in the districts round Heliopolis, and all the rest in the nome have paid, except for a few who have . . . means. These persons alone (*cancelled*: have put in a petition) are wronging the revenues, though they possess most profitable vineyards, and because their land itself . . . and because their area is a part of Memphis bordering on the river itself. They are conspiring in opposition owing to Achaëps the nomarch. He wishes at all costs to make the exaction the lightest possible. Although Apollonius has often been on the spot, they have neither petitioned him in person nor submitted a petition in writing . . . they contest it, and again against Athenagoras . . . (*cancelled*: fetch the instruction of the king) and publish it in front of the temples (?) ’

1 ff. Lines 1–6 are on a separate scrap which cannot be fitted anywhere on the right-hand side.

9. There is no other specific evidence to support the restoration [ἐρῶν as the place of publication (cf. l. 34). Von Schwind, *Zur Frage der Publikation* (1940), quotes as definite localities for the Ptolemaic period 29. 10 πρὸ τοῦ ἀγορανομίου, and Rev. Laws, col. 9. 3 ἐν ταῖς τελευταῖς.

10. The rate at which φόρος τῆς ἀμπελῆος was to be collected. This impost figures under this title in O. Tait. i, O. Bodl. 96 (2nd century B.C.), as φόρος ἀμπελῶνων in P. Petr. ii. 43 (a) (3rd century). See Cl. Préaux, *Économie royale des Lagides*, p. 185.

12. Ἀθηναγόρου: cf. infra, l. 32. Athenagoras may be the person mentioned in P. Cornell. i. 4, etc. (256 B.C.) εἰς τὸ Ἀθηναγόρου λογιστήριον, where his accounting bureau is one of four which travelled in the retinue of Apollonius. Mr. E. Van't Dack does not agree with this identification and prefers to identify him with the person mentioned in P. Cair. Zen. 59328. 34, etc.; SB. 7686. i, etc.; P.S.I. 353. 4; 354. 2; 429. 30; P. Lond. Inv. 2089, a high official, possibly hypodiecetes, enjoying competence in both the Arsinoite and the Memphite nomes.

13. The words after πρόσθεν to the end of l. 14 have been washed out.

15. A blank space was left after the drachma sign. The interlinear addition above the following line was perhaps written over a washed-out passage, rather than itself washed out. χόρη: T. C. Skeat.

16. Ἡλιον πόλις: l. 8 ἐν ταῖς Ἡλιαῖς πόλεσιν, and the whole sense of the report show that the Arsinoite village Ἡλιον πόλις (P. Petr. ii. 28. viii. 20) is not concerned here, even though that hypothesis might locate the nomarch Achaëps in an area where he is already known.

18. The first two letters preceded by a cancelling parenthesis are on a separate scrap placed here because the next line seems to fit. The second letter might be η, γ, π or μ, and possibly the first should be read as ν, i.e. νή[ς]ωι. γή[ς] τήδε is hardly adequate for the space.

22.¹ [τὴν ἐντευξιν [ἐμβ]εβλήκασιν]: the two methods of making an ἐντευξιν are well summarized in l. 30 οὐτε ἐντεύχον αὐτοὶ οὐτε ἐντευξιν ἐνέβαλον οὐδεμίαν. The technical term ἐντ. ἐμβάλλειν is discussed by Guéraud, ENTETEΞEIN, p. xxxii. The correction of this phrase to πρὸς τὰς προσόδους παραβαίνοντι is revealing for official psychology.

24-5. The sense requires, e.g., ἀρίστην οὖσαν [καί] ἐπικαιρότατον as the scribe's first draft, but this does not seem to have been written.

27. A νομαρχία 'Αχοάπιος near Kerkeesis in the Arsinoite nome is attested in P. Petr. ii. 39 (a) 4, roughly contemporary to judge by its handwriting. Since the present officer seems to be dealing with the Memphite nome, either these persons are not identical, or else (and more probably) the competence of a nomarch did not coincide with nome boundaries, but included parts of more than one nome. As Mr. Van't Dack points out, the name Achoapis is not of frequent occurrence, and the contemporaneous existence of two nomarchs of this name in adjacent nomes would be a striking coincidence.

There are traces of four lines of a subsequent column on the right beginning at this point.

31. The interlinear addition is not εἰς τὴν θυσίαν.

32. Possibly πρὸς 'Αθηναίους at the beginning of the interlinear addition.

206. LETTER FROM THEOPHILUS TO PLUTARCHUS

Mummy 18.

10 × over 30 cm.

263/2 B.C.

Theophilus, who is not otherwise known, writes to his subordinate Plutarchus, a minor official concerned with the revenues of Hiera Nesos in the Arsinoite nome (cf. 63 introd.), requesting the despatch of some seed corn and complaining of the difficulties caused by the failure of cultivators (probably cleruchs) to register their requirements in seed. Other instructions are unintelligible owing to the mutilation of the text. The letter, written in a careful cursive, is broken into five pieces, of which the bottom piece does not cohere with the rest.

Θεόφιλος Πλουτάρχῳ χαί-
ρειν. καλῶς ἀ[ν] ποιήσας ἀπο-
στει[λα]ς μοι το[ύ]ς . . .]ους
[ο]ύς ἐγ[ὼ] λοι[πά]δος ὠφέιλησας
5 [8-10]κους τοῦ τ . . .
[]ους δὲ καβ[ύ]ως
[σοι ἐπέστα]λκα. χρεῖ[αν]
γὰρ ἔχ[ω] διὰ τὸ τοῦτον
ἐπιδεδημηκέναι πλείω

¹ At beginning of the line perhaps restore [οὐκ]. The persons referred to in the following οὗτοι δὲ are not the same as those of the πλὴν clause, but are contrasted with οἱ μὲν ἐξ 'Ηλίου πόλεως (l. 16).

10 χρόνον. ἀπόστειλον δέ μοι
 καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ χόρτου
 παρὰ Διονυσίου ὅσον ἂν δύ-
 νη, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν κέρμα
 ἀπαίτει αὐτοὺς ἐπειδὴ οὐ-
 15 τ[ε το]ύτωι ἔδοξεν ἐπαγγεί-
 [λαι πρὸς] χ[όρ]του σπέρμα
 [οὔτε πρὸς ἀρ]άκου εἰς μ[ε νῦν
 [c. 8 δ]έξεται μοι το
 [ν τ[ο]ῦ σ[πέρ]ματος
 20 ἀναδέ[χεσθαι ἀνα-]
 λίσκητις € . . [c. 8-10
 προδοῦναι εἰς (ἀρούρας) γ[6-8
 ρος καὶ Ἰππόνικον δε[6-8
 [. . .]πρᾶξον (ἀρτάβας) λξ (ἡμίσειαν) [6-8
 25 ται δις ἀδικῆσαι
 εξ . . . εχ . . . [. . .]ωι
 ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κγ
 Λώϊον κξ

Verso, along the fibres : [Π]λουτάρχωι

Fragment (perhaps not from this letter) :] traces [

] ἐμοὶ τ[. .] γενέσθαι

] . . . εμ[

'Theophilus to Plutarchus greeting. You would do well to send to me [the interest (?) which you owed from your arrears . . .]. It is a pressing matter, since he has been here some time. Send to me also the grass seed from Dionysius, as much as you can, and in future charge them a fee, since this fellow has seen fit to register neither for grass seed nor for aracus with me now. . . . Farewell. Year 23 Loios 27.'

1. Theophilus might be *λογευτής* in the Arsinoite nome as is the Theophilus of P. Teb. 746. 13 in the Oxyrhynchite nome twenty years later, and Plutarchus might be *sitologus*.

3. *Exempli gratia, τόκ[ους, χαλκ]οῦς*.

207. LETTER TO AN AGENT

Mummy A 16.

14.5 x 18.5 cm.

c. 260-245 B.C.

Though this letter has lost its beginning and end, it is clearly from a landowner to an agent, authorizing various financial and agricultural trans-

actions, especially the payment and collection of loans, and ordering the purchase of soft wool so that the girls may be kept busy, and the master have a soft cloak. It is from the same piece of cartonage as the letters of Leodamas (249 introd.), and the prominence given to sales of olyra may possibly justify a connection with them. The writing is a tall and regular capital, to be dated in the later years of Philadelphus, and the peculiarities of orthography (notably the doubled σ) are no doubt the scribe's, not the master's.

- c. 10]ν χαίρειν. ἔγραψάς μοι ὅτι
 χρήεα (πυροῦ (?) περ)ί[εστ]ην ἀρ[τά]βαι πενήκ[ο]ντα
 ὅτε ἔ[δει] πλη(σ)θῆναι ὥ[σ]τε μοι καταλείψω-
 [σ]θαι ἀρτάβας δ τῆς ἀρούρας. ποίει οὕτω
 5 καὶ ἔτι ἂν τι δύνῃ. πρόσελλθε δὲ πρὸς Κρίνι-
 [πον ὡ]ς ἄν συντάσσηι. καὶ τὰ ὀλυριδία σύν-
 [ταξον ἐ]κείνον πωλεῖν ὡς ἂν τὰς τι-
 [μὰς] δοκιμάζηι. γεγράφηκα δὲ Ἄνῃ
 [.]κτυρ[.] . . [τὰς] ὀλύ \ρ/ ας ἱ[ν]α ἀπόδ[ω]ται (ἀρτάβας) φ
 10 καὶ ἀποδοῦν[α] μὲν Καλλισθένη μετὰ
 [. .] . . νον (δραχμὰς) ρ, Σωστράτῳ δὲ τὰ τε
 τοκία καὶ τὰς (δραχμὰς) ρ καὶ τὴν συγγρα-
 φὴν ἀράσσει καὶ τοῖς παιδαρίοις ἑκα-
 τέροι(ς) (δραχμὰς) ν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν φυλάσσειν.
 15 καὶ ἐριά μοι ἵνα ἀγοράζηις μαλα[κ]ὰ
 ἵνα ἔχωσιν αἱ παιδίσκαι ἐργά[ζεσθαι]
 καὶ ἐμοὶ ἱμάτιον ἵνα γένηται [μ]αλακῶν
 καὶ τὸ παιδάρ(ι)ον ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸν ζῇ
]α[

 2. 1. χρέα. 4. : in Pap. after ἀρτάβας and before δ. 9. Ἀ' = (ἀρτάβας).
 12. 1. τοκία. 13. 1. ἀράσσει.

‘ . . greetings. You wrote to me that I still have debts [in wheat] amounting to 50 artabae at settling time, so as to leave a final balance of 4 artabae per aroura. Act accordingly, or do better if you can. Get in touch with [Crinippos] in order to instruct him. And instruct him to sell the olyra as well as the wheat, so that he can approve the prices. I have written to Aunes . . . to sell my 500 artabae of olyra, and to give back to Callisthenes and . . . as 100 drachmae, to Sostratus the interest and 100 drachmae, to collect the contract of loan, to give 50 drachmae to each of the two boys and to keep the rest. And buy

me soft wool so that the girls have work to do . . . and a soft cloak may be made for me, and the boy may have some clothes to his back . . .

1. ν before $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ is clear. Possibly the order of names was inverted.

2-3. Readings at the beginnings of these lines are uncertain. There is hardly room for, e.g., $[\pi\epsilon] \mu\epsilon$ in l. 3, followed by a construction such as $\epsilon[\acute{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon] \pi\epsilon\omega\lambda\lambda\eta\theta\eta\eta\mu\alpha$.

6. The name must begin with a π , and though it is not elsewhere recorded, Κρίνιπτος is the obvious supplement. The ν in Κρίνιπτος is as clear here as is the σ in Κρίνιπτος in 92. 12, 21. This leaves the restoration rather short, and the reconstruction must be regarded as tentative since (1) $\acute{\omega}|\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is not a very satisfactory reading. Only the tops of the letters show, but ω would be preferable as the final letter. There is no ι to authorize, e.g., $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon|\nu\alpha\iota$; (2) $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota$ may be interpreted as 2nd person middle or 3rd person active. Punctuation and the restoration $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}|\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota$ at the end of the line are due to T. C. Skeat.

8. Ἀντή , i.e. Ἀντή . L. 9 may conceal the patronymic.

14. Punctuation after $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ suggested by Skeat.

16. παῖδεςκαὶ : on the most natural interpretation of the letter these are girls employed in household or farm duties, and there is no compulsion to consider them as slaves. Cf. the discussion of the word by Westermann, *Upon Slavery*, p. 55. A similar doubt must be felt about the two παῖδεςκαὶ of l. 13 and the παῖδερων of l. 18.

208. MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Mummy 18.

12 x 10 cm.

c. 270-250 B.C.

End of a six-witness marriage contract (συγγραφή , l. 12) concluded between Chrestos and Ebruzelmis, the latter presumably acting for and probably father of the bride Nicarete. The surviving portion, written in a tiny quick cursive of the reign of Philadelphus, and preserving only a small part of the total length of the line, contains (1) a description of the dowry; (2) an acknowledgement of its receipt by Chrestos; (3) provision for its return, under penalty, in case of certain eventualities. Though mutilated, it seems likely that the document concerns the safeguarding of the dowry alone, and is preliminary to a $\text{συγγραφή συνοικεσίου}$ (cf. note on l. 9), as is the case in P. Teb. 815, fr. 4, recto i. 2-10, which it antedates by something up to half a century. It is in fact, to the best of my knowledge, the second earliest marriage contract extant, and supports the view of H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Post-Classical Law*, pp. 20-4, that in its first stages of development a $\text{συγγραφή ὁμολογίας}$ concerned only the dowry, not the fact of a marriage.

]. τῆς ἐπιγονῆς . . . ἐὰδω. [
 λ]όγον (δραχμῶν) Ἄ ὦν τὸ καθ' ἑν . [
 π]ροσκεφάλαια β πληρη . [
 ' . τὰς (δραχμὰς) Ἄ . [. .] .

- 5 διομολογεί] Χρήστος ἀπέχειν [π]αρ' Ἐβρυζέλμιος
] Ζωίλου ιδιώτου γν[. . . .] . [.
]σαν Ἐβρυζέλμιος . . . [. .] . [.
] . ε Χρήστ[ω]ι π . . . [.] . μενος ἑαυτῶι τὴν φ[ερ]λὴν ἐπ . [.
]ψασθαι Νικαρέττη ἢ μὴ θῆται αὐτὴν κυρίαν τὴν φε[ρ]νὴν
 10 ἀποτινέτω ἢν εἴλαβεν ἡμιόλιον καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω Ἐβρυζέλ[μ]ι καὶ
 ἄλλ[ω]ι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 π]ατρικοῦ σταθμοῦ ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου τρυ π[. .]ητ[. .] τε[.
 τὸ δὲ ἀνά]λωμα τῆς συγγραφῆς δότωσαν ἑκάτερος τὸ ἡ[μ]ε[ρ]α
 [Μάρτυρες]αῖος Μενωνίδης Πέρσης οὗτοι τῶν Ζωίλου [.
]ας Ἰππολύσου Κυρηναῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.
 15 [συγγραφοφύλαξ x]

5. διομολογεί] : cf. P. Teb. 815, fr. 4, recto i. 2.

7. Ἐβρυζέλμιος : for the name cf. P. Cair. Zen. 59001. 26. In **81**. 18 re-examination of the papyrus shows that Ἐβρυζέλμιος should be read there too.

8. Not παραδ[ε]χόμενος.

9. It is not possible to read θῆται αὐτῇ συνοικεσίου συγγραφῆν, or the like, as in P. Teb. loc. cit. and P. Paris 13 = UPZ. 123, etc. But this sanction should perhaps be restored earlier in the line, e.g. [ἢ μὴ βούληται ἐν ἑαυτῶι συγγραφῆν συνοικεσίου συγγρά]ψασθαι Νικαρέττη.

At the end, κυρίαν, i.e. φ[ερ]νῆς, cannot be excluded though it is a less probable reading. Nevertheless, κυρίαν probably refers to the woman's right to dispose of property, which is emphasized in UPZ. 123. 12 by the form of the participle κυριευούσης (not κυριεύουσαι), where Wilcken translates 'indem sie (die Frau) gemeinsam (mit ihm) über das Vermögen verfügen sollte'.

13. Menonides is probably the same as Μενωνίδης Πέρσης ιδιώτης τῶν Ζωίλου of **124**, cf. **125-6**.

οὗτοι : this must also be the reading in **96**. 13 and 30, where]οῦτοι was wrongly treated as the termination of an unknown military title.

209. RECEIPT FOR RENT

Mummy A.

14.5 × 15.5 cm.

263/2 B.C.

Receipt for rent amounting to 750 artabae of olyra plus hay given by Lysicrates to Demetrius, it being the rent for crops sown on his holding in the 21st year for harvesting in the 22nd year. The hand is identical with that of **88**, in the introduction to which allusion is made to this text. There are traces of a further 12 lines after l. 12, but the ink has almost completely vanished and only a few letters can be read in each line.

[Ba]σι[λ]εύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ
 Πτολεμαίου [οὔ]του]ς τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέως Κινέου

τοῦ Ἀλκέτου Ἀ[λεξάνδ]ρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν κανηφόρου[ν]
 Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδ[έλφου]ν . εν . [.] . . [.] τῆς Πολεμοκρά[τους] μη-
 5 νὸς Δαισίου ἐμ Φεβ[ί]χι [τοῦ] Κωίτου. Ὁμολο[γ]εῖ Λ[η]νισκράτης
 [.] μαιεύς τ[ῶ]ν Ζω[ύλου] δ[ε] κανικὸς ἀπέχειμ παρὰ Δημη-
 [τρίου Π]τολ[ε]μαίου Μ[. . .] . . [.] τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὰ ἐκφόρια
 [τοῦ ἰ]δίου κλή[ρο]ν τὰ σπαρέντα ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ εἰκοστῷ
 [εἴ]ς εἰς τὸ δεύτερον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος πάντα ὀλυρῶν ἀρτά-
 10 [β]ας ἑπτακοσ[ί]αs πεντήκοντα καὶ τὸν χόρτον [. . .] c. 10
 [. . . .] ον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τὴν ἐγδοθεῖσαν [. . .] c. 10
 10] ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει [. . .]

'In the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy and Ptolemy the son, the 23rd year, Cineas son of Alctas being priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphi, . . . daughter of Polemocrates being canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus, in the month of Daisios, at Phebeichis in the Coite toparchy. Lysicrates, . . . decurion of the troop of Zoilus, agrees that he has received from Demetrius, son of Ptolemy, [Macedonian] of the epigone, the rent of his own holding, all the portion sown in the 21st year for the 22nd year, namely seven hundred and fifty artabae of olyra and the chaff . . . in accordance with the contract issued . . . at Heracleopolis . . . '

6. I cannot identify the ethnic. It is not *Αἰγαιεύς*, and neither *Φωκαεύς*, *Μυλασεύς*, nor *Παταρεύς* seems to fit.

7. Possibly Μ[ακε]δ[ον]ο[ν], but it cannot be verified.

210. LOAN (?)

Mummy A 8.

10 x 8 cm.

c. 250-240 B.C.

This fragmentary and tattered text (written across the fibres) was quoted in the introduction to 59 as authority for treating Zenodorus as oeconomus of one of the toparchies of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Zenodorus is now known from P. Hamb. 183 to have been oeconomus of the lower and Thmoisepho toparchies jointly in 251 B.C., while in 240 it is probably he who is addressed as simultaneously *οἰκονόμος* and *τοπάρχης*. Cf. also 248. It is interesting to note that both in the Hamburg papyrus and in 124-6 Zenodorus figures as a creditor. This text, too, looks like a loan. If 124 is taken as the basis for the restoration of ll. 11-12, a length of line results which suggests that a loan was made, either out of tax revenue, or in order to help the debtor to meet his tax demands, and that if Zenodorus were not the lender, he at least connived at the loan.

]ξομ[
]. . [
 [. . .] . . [. .]δότην [τ]ῶ[ν . .] . ουρ[
 [ἔχειν (?) παρ]ὰ Ζηνοδώρου οἰκονόμου
 5 [τῆς κάτω (?) τοπ]αρχίας τοῦ Ὁξυρρυχίτου[ν]
 [. . . .] . . [. . .] . . ἀπὸ τῆς λογείας τοῦ . .
 [5-7] βαλαγείου τιμὴν ὀλυρῶν ἀρ-
 τ[α]βῶν ἐ[ννέα (?)] τετάρτου. ἀποδότω [δὲ . .] .
 [. . . Ζηνοδώρου] τὸν σίτον τοῦ γὰ . . ν . .
 10 [. . .] . . s ἐμ μηνὶ Φαρμουτί σίτον
 [κα]θαρὸν [μ]έτρῳ βασιλικῷ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπ[ο-]
 [δῶι, ἀποτεισάτ]ω τ[ε]μὴν τῇ[ς ἀρτάβης ἐκά-]
 [στης κτλ.

3. The reading must be treated with great reserve. At the end there is insufficient space to read (ἐκατον)αρ[ού]ρων.

4. Or δ[ι]ὰ instead of παρ]ὰ. In either case, the restoration ἔχειν, with a previous ἀμολογέ, will be required. The normal form at this date for a straightforward loan begins ἐδάνεισεν.

5. If the length of line has been correctly guessed (cf. introd.), it will not be possible to restore the same sphere of competence (lower and Thmosepho toparchies) here as in P. Hamb. 183.

6. The merest traces of ink at the end of the line. A participle is required.

8. Name at end of line.

211. STABLE ACCOUNT

Mummy A.

24 × 18 cm.

c. 250 B.C.

Ends of lines of one column and beginnings of a second from an account of corn rations issued to grooms (all have non-Greek names) and of other expenses in a stable. The large well-formed hand, very similar to that of P. Cair. Zen. 59562, suggests that these accounts are a fair copy and that the stable was part of the establishment of a great dignitary. On the verso is 204.

Col. i

. . κλη[ι] [Ἰσ]χεῖτος ἀδελφῶι
 κ[α]ὶ Ἰαβάρηι Μοσχούτος ἀδελφῶι
 . . .] . . ἀνα Λαλιᾷ κ [τῆλ[ι]ος] χ^a
]. ν[. .] χομ Μοσχ[ο]ύτος μητρός

Col. ii

One line lost

ἄλλο τοῦ δέ[δο]μέν[ου ὑ]π[ο]μνήμα-
 τος ὑ-]
 μῶν τὸ ἀντ[ι]ρ[α]φον

n the northern area of the Arsinoite nome, seem to confirm such a conclusion. The hand is a fairly large clear capital to be assigned to the closing years of Philadelphus.

Col. i

- παρὰ Ἰμούθου περὶ . [ἀνα-]
 φέρομέν σοι ὀφείλεισ[θαι] (πυροῦ) φξ
 ὑπὲρ μέτρω(ν) δὲ [(πυροῦ)] τμγ ι' β'
 φακοῦ (ἀρτάβ.) κξ'
 5 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρεια
 ἕως τοῦ \το/ σύμβολον [. . . .] .. κρ(ιθῆς) ις
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φορέτ[ρου]] ..
 πυ(ροῦ) ρ< [(γίνονται) (πυροῦ) ρ< []
 10 ἔτι ὑπὲρ κρ(ιθῆς) (?)
 ὀφείλει[αι]] γαδ
 ἀπολογισ[μὸς ὧν κατ]ατέθεικας
 παρὰ T[] γενο
 [] ροε σ'
 15 κ[αὶ ὑ]πὲρ [μέτρ(ων)] (πυροῦ) ν . . .
 φ[ακοῦ] κξ< κρ(ιθῆς) Σλε<δ (κριθοπύρου) εβ' ὀλ(ύρας) αι β'
 [σπερ]μάτων (πυροῦ) ρλε< φακοῦ αβ'
 [κριθ(ῆς)] ζ< ὀλ(ύρας) εἰ' β'
 [. . . .] ἀπ' ἄλλων (πυροῦ) ιε<δ'
 20 [φ]ακοῦ δκ'δ' κρ(ιθῆς) ζδῆ' ὀλ(ύρας) ακ'δ'
 Ἀπολλόδωρος ζητηρᾶς Μέμφεως
 [ὑπ]ὲρ [ὧν] ἔχεις τὸ σύμβολον κρ(ιθῆς) μς
 [κ]αὶ ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ φορέτρου ὁμοίως πυ(ροῦ) ιγ κρ(ιθῆς) μξ<
 [. .] θ[] . ις γράφεις (πυροῦ) τκη φακοῦ ιη' β'
 25 [. . .] κρ(ιθῆς) . α<δ' (ὧν) παρὰ τὸ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρεια
 [. . .] [. .] ψς τῶν ρ β<γ' (ἀρτάβ.) τνγ
 8-10 γρ[άφει]ς [Σ]λγ λοιπαὶ (πυροῦ) κ
] (πυροῦ) ρκ
 12-16]δ< <ὤς) τῶν ρ []
 30] (πυροῦ) Ση[]

16. κ^ρ Pap. Similarly l. 45, but contrast l. 48.

Col. ii

Two lines lost

- καὶ κριθ(ῆς) 'ZueΔ' [
 (γίνονται) τ[...] εφρ[
 35] . ε<[
 καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ζ[ν]τη[ρὰν
 κρι(θῆς) Σνδ [
 — καὶ σπερμάτων κρι(θῆς) [
 παρὰ τὸ ἐμβληθ(ρον) κρι(θῆς) [
 40 φακοῦ ιβ ε'β' [
 καὶ εἰς τὴν ζυτηρά[ν
 κοσκινευτικὸν σπερμ[άτ]ων (πυροῦ) ις [
 καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ζυτηρά[ν κρι(θῆς) [
 κα[ι]] ια πυ(ροῦ) ρπαγ'
 45 φα[κοῦ]] κρι(θῆς) ξεδ' (κριθοπύρου) τζ
 ὀλ[ύ(ρας)]] κηγ'
 καὶ ἀ[πὸ] τῶ[ν] ἀρουρών] ο<ε'β' ἀν(ὰ) κρι(θῆς) ρ<, (γίνονται) κρι(θῆς) ρς
 (γίνονται) πυ(ροῦ) ρπ[αγ' κρι]θῆς καὶ κριθ(οπύρου) υσηδ'η' (ὧν)
 — ἐκ Βακ[χιάδος (?) ἀπὸ] Μ' Ὁχπς< ἀρτ(άβ.) ψη<
 50 ὡς τῶν ριβ ἀρτ(άβ.) πε (ὧν) πυ(ροῦ) μβ<
 καὶ ἀντί . . . < κρι(θῆς) ξγ<δ
 φακοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀσρη (ἀρτάβ.) π ὡς τῶν ριβ φακοῦ (ἀρτάβ.) ι
 — ἐκ Καρανίδι ἀπὸ Ἐρλδ< (ἀρτάβ.) υλε<
 ὡς τῶν ριζβ' (ἀρτάβ.) οςδ' (ὧν)
 55 πυρ(οῦ) ληγ' καὶ ἀντί ληγ' κρι(θῆς) νζ<
 καὶ ἀ γρ[ά]φει[ς μ]ηδὲ τὸ καθόλου ἐξενη-
 νοχένα[ι]  οβ ἀν(ὰ) ιζβ' (πυροῦ) ρ<[
 κα[ι] ἀπ[ὸ]] γ Βακχιάδος[ς
] . β'
 60] . . πυ(ροῦ) [

47. First figure after κρι(θῆς), α is altered from δ. 53. l. Καρανίδος.

1. Not περὶ ὧν. After περὶ traces of a tall upright stroke.

For Imouthes cf. P. Petr. ii. 36 (i) = iii. 45 (i) (now P. Lond. 574 A, not in the same hand), a register of the corvée headed (ἐτος) ε Φαμενώθ ις παρὰ Ἰμούθου, and localized to Hephaestias, i.e. the same area of the Arsinoite nome.

3. μέτρα(ν) : an identical entry and figure (ὁπὲρ μέτρων) πυ(ροῦ) ἡμῶν εἶ(β') is found at the foot of one of the unpublished columns.

5. τοῦ εἰς Ἄλεξ. : cf., e.g., P. Petr. iii. 76, verso ii. 9 or P. Teb. 847. 12 for phrase κοικινοῦτον τοῦ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πυροῦ.

6. Perhaps τοῦτον τοῦ συμβόλου was intended.

12. If the word were παρ'ἀνθρακας, the lower vertical of the ρ should be visible.

21. Cf. ll. 36, 41; and the similar heading in P. Petr. loc. cit. 13 ζιτηρῶν . . . α.ζ.εἶ', with an entry Μύμων in the previous line; other references and discussion in Cl. Præaux, *Écon. royale*, p. 153. Apollodorus' receipt for this syntaxis of 50 artabae of barley is held by the person to whom this account is addressed.

24. L. 56 makes it likely that γράφεις is 2nd person singular rather than a part of ἀντι-γράφεις (which cannot be read).

26. ὡς τῶν ρ : a percentage supplement, which in ll. 50 and 52 is 12%, and in 54 and 57 17½%. In these lines it is calculated on a figure which is itself abstracted from a larger total.

27. τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν (?).

39. For ἐμβληθῶν cf. P. Petr. iii. 129. 13, etc.; P. Teb. 847. 23 and P. Teb. iii Index.

42. κοικινοῦτον : cf. n. on l. 5, and Cl. Præaux, *Écon. royale*, p. 132.

49. Reading and restoration at the beginning of the line are uncertain.

49. ἐκ Βασιλιάδος : the restoration is suggested by l. 58 and supported by l. 53.

51. After ἀντι a figure is lost representing wheat in place of which barley was reckoned. Cf. l. 55.

58. Or Κα[ρ]α[ι]δ[ος] . . . γ Βασιλιάδ[ος] might be read.

213. ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS IN A TEMPLE

Mummy A 6.

10.5 × 16 cm.

c. 250 B.C.

This fragmentary account records payments in money made by, or on behalf of, priests and workers (all with Egyptian names) in a temple, arranged by days of the month. A number of interesting designations occur, and all entries have been checked by the usual oblique marginal strokes. The temple was perhaps at Oxyrhynchus in view of the entry in l. 5, and the fact that 95, which is from the same mummy, was written there.

Col. i

ends of 9 lines

Col. ii

.
[. . .] . . . [. . .]
[. . .] πα . . . [. . .]
καὶ Πετοσίρις Πετ[. . .] . . . [. . .]
κα[α] Πετοσίρις Ἀρ[ενδύτου]
Σάβας
5 ητῶν α Πετοσίρις Π[. . .]

χρυσσχόων Ἀρενδῶτης
 οἰκοδόμων Πετοσίρις [
 . . . ἱεροδούλων α[. . .] . . . ων[
 ε() κιννοτάφων Πετενοῦ[ις
 10 (γίνονται) κγ (ὀβολός)

 Θῶυθ
 λυχοδότων Σαρα
 ε() ι παστοφόρων Σαραπι[ων] Πα[
 Ὄρου Σεμβέως
 Πάσις Ψαμμητίχου
 15 Ἀρενδῶτης υ . . γ (τετρώβολον)
 ε() (γίνονται) [.] ζ (δυόβολοι)

 Φ[α]ῶφι
 κ̄ ολσ . ρων Ὄρος Ἐρ[ιέ]ως [
 λ̄ ολσ . ρων Ὄρος Ἐρ[ιέ]ως
 20 [(γίνονται)] ζ [

5. Before η, a tall letter which might be ρ or φ. There is perhaps another letter (in that case ι) intervening between it and the η. The first letter of the title is rounded, i.e. θ, ε, or ο. Not *προφήτων*.

α, without mark of abbreviation, possibly for ἀ(νά)? Cf. l. 8. Σέφα is an Oxyrhynchite village.

9. κιννοτάφος: *addendum lexicis*.

12. λυχοδότης: *addendum lexicis*.

18, 19. ολσ . ρων: there is a tear between the two halves of this apparently unknown word. For ρ, τ might be read.

214. AGRICULTURAL ACCOUNTS, AND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

Mummy A.

c. 250 B.C.

Of a number of badly damaged fragments of agricultural accounts two specimens are here given. It seems not unlikely that all are part of the same batch as those already printed as 118. In fragment i the headings ἐν τῷ Τιμοκράτου (l. 2) and ἐν τῷ Ἰάσονος (l. 6) are reminiscent of those in 118. 5 and 2, while the hand which wrote the lower part of the first column of fragment ii is, as far as I can judge, identical with that of fragment i. The labelling of

fragment ii as 'Mummy A 5' compared with the generic 'Mummy A' for fragment i and 118 is no bar to this identification.

As fragment i are printed the first 12 lines, which are the best preserved out of the first of three pieces, each containing one column and parts of a second, and all apparently of the same character, viz. a list of δέσμαι made up on succeeding days by workmen on a number of estates or κλήροι. Of fragment ii only the (damaged) second column is given. It seems to set out contributions made by persons (who include perhaps an οἰκονόμος and two γραμματεῖς) for religious festivals. The contributors are Greek and so are the deities they honour—θεός Σωτήρ and Βασίλισσα (Berenice, the consort of Ptolemy I), Artemis, Aphrodite, Hermes and Heracles. In four cases a further entry named τὸ μουσικόν is found, which may be regarded as a contribution either to a specific festival of the Muses, or perhaps with greater probability towards the cost of the 'musical' (in its widest Greek sense) side of all the festivals. It is in any case not unlikely that the persons mentioned are members of an association or club, which organized the celebration of these festivals. The hand of fragment i is large, clear and square, that of fragment ii a small, round cursive, both to be assigned to c. 250 B.C.

Frag. i. 16 x 20 cm.

[ο]ἱ δεσμεύοντες χόρτον
 [Φαρμοῦθι (?)] ἐν τῷ Τιμοκράτῳ
 [. . / ωγ
 5 καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀπ[ο]λλοδώρου κβ' Ἀχ
 κγ' φν / Ἐρν
 ἐν [τῷ] Ἰάσονος κζ' ἈΣ κθ' υ
 λ' Ἀξ Παχώνης α' ψ β' φν ζ' ψ
 ἡ ωγ / Δωξ
 καὶ ἐν τῷ Πεώτου ιβ' Ἀν
 10 ιδ' Ἀ ιε' Ἀγξ ις' . ιζ' ων
 ιθ' . ν κ ω κα' . ων [κ]β' . .
 κγ' Ἀτ / Θφ

Frag. ii. 12 x 8.5 cm.

Col. i

Heading:] ἐπιμνησίς, followed by a space and traces of writing, in a small, square hand (hand 2). Then a space and ends of lines of an account in the same hand as that of fragment i (hand 1).

IV

DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

215. CAREER OF TIBERIUS JULIUS ALEXANDER

1903.

Plate III.

c. A.D. 70-130

These two non-contiguous scraps are of interest for one reason only, that they add to the evidence for the career of the well-known prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Julius Alexander (A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten*, pp. 37-8), the information that he was subsequently promoted to the praetorian prefecture.

Small though these pieces are, there is no reason to doubt the security of the inference based on them. Both scraps, of identical horizontal measurements, fortunately preserve the full width of the column of writing, and the restoration of ll. 2-3 acts as a check on and a guarantee of the accuracy of the assumptions made in restoring the important lines 6-7. Though I do not know of any other instance in a papyrus document written in Egypt for use in Egypt in which an extra-Egyptian office held subsequently by a past prefect is alluded to, the form of the allusion is correct in diplomatic form, and there is no reason for suspecting the authenticity of its addition in the case of so well-known a figure as Alexander. The letters $\omega\varsigma$ at the beginning of l. 6 are most easily interpreted as the termination of a genitive in $-\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, for instance $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ or the like. The document from which these pieces survive may have been a legal memorandum, citing previous decisions of Alexander, as is done in P. Oxy. 899. 28 of A.D. 200, and perhaps also P. Wien Boswinkel i. 19. Or it may have been an extract from the prefect's $\tau\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\omega\upsilon$, in which case l. 5 may have run, for instance, $[\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu \epsilon\acute{\xi} \epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma]$, as in B.G.U. 265. 11 (Wilcken, *Chr.* 459). The small and spidery handwriting has pronounced loops, and might at first sight easily be taken for a hand of the late second or early third century. The ϵ , however, is characteristic of the later first century, and on the strength of the similarity to the hand of P. Lond. 140 (Atlas II, no. 21) dated to Vespasian, or of P.S.I. 1135 (Norsa, *Schrift. Doc.* ii, pl. xiv) of A.D. 97, an allocation to within 60 years of A.D. 70 is to be preferred.

Alexander's promotion as *praefectus praetorio* is susceptible of interpreta-

tion in at least two ways.¹ *Prima facie*, it appears to mean that he was made Prefect of the Guard in Rome. It is surprising in that case that Tacitus did not record this command held by a man of Alexander's antecedents, but he may have reserved his comment till one of the later, and now lost, books of the *Histories*. A different possibility is that Alexander was created *praefectus praetorio* in order to command in the Jewish war in Palestine. Josephus' ambiguous description in *B.J.* vi. 237 Τιβερίου τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχοντος and an inscription from Aradus in which Alexander is styled ἐπαρχος [τοῦ] Ἰουδαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ are possibly reconcilable with such a view, first put forward, as H. M. Last informs me, by A. Renier, and treated with respect though not accepted by Mommsen (introd. to *C.I.L.* III. 6809). Whichever view is correct, the date of Alexander's promotion is later than the proclamation of Vespasian on 1st July A.D. 69, and in effect reversed the relative importance of the Egyptian and praetorian prefectures. If the second view is right, Alexander is the first of a long line of praetorian prefects (Cornelius Fuscus under Domitian being the second) who commanded important frontier operations, and the distant harbinger of the Diocletianic system.

(a) 10 × 3 cm.

· · · · ·
· · · · ·] · [·] · [·
Κ[αί][σα]ρος οἰκονόμῳ ἐπακο-
· · · · · \ · δ[ε]γν[ο]ύ
[λο]νθοῦντος [Γεμινίου Αἰλιανοῦ] τοῦ κρα-
[τίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Ν]έας Πόλεως Ἰν[α]
· · · · ·

(b) 10 × 1 cm.

· · · · ·
· · · · · 5 [·] · τ[ε] [9] · [3] · [·]
· · · · · ως Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἡγεμο-
[νύσαντ]ος, γενομένου καὶ ἐπάρχου πραι-
[τωρίου]
· · · · ·

6. Ἰουλίου Παρ.

2. Καίσαρος οἰκονόμος; cf. B.G.U. 102. 1; P. Oxy. 735. 6, etc.

3. Γεμίνιος Αἰλιανός: presumably the wrong name was written, and the correct one (of

¹ I have tried to work out a detailed interpretation in a paper in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, xlv (1954), pp. 54-64.

which only the end remains, and which could be read] . διττου) was substituted above the erasure. Geminus Aelianus is not known to *PIR.* or to Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*.

κράτιστος ἐπίτροπος τῆς Νέας Πόλεως : cf. Wilcken, *GZ.* p. 369, and the list of known holders (the earliest to date is of A.D. 104) in Calderini, *Θησαυροί*, p. 57, P.S.I. 1053. 1, P. Strasb. 202. If this scrap belongs to an epistasis document, these two officers were probably assisting Alexander, and their dates must then coincide with his Egyptian prefecture.

7. γενομένου καί : the postponed καί shows clearly that the praetorian prefecture was held after the prefecture of Egypt. Since γενομένου is often coupled with the title of an office to denote an ex-official (e.g. P. Oxy. 59. 3 and often), either γενομένου alone or καί γενομένου here would be ambiguous. There is an analogous use in phrases such as βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν (e.g. P. Oxy. 898. 1) or ἐνάρχῳ πρίναι διέποντι καὶ τὰ πολιτικά (P. Oxy. 55. 4), where the postponed καί extends the field of duties of a man still in office.

ἐπαρχος πραιπορίου is the ordinary official Greek version of *praefectus praetorio*, see D. Magie, *De vocabulis Graecis*, etc., s.v.

216. DECLARATION BY SHIPPERS

1903.

12.5 x 25.5 cm.

3rd Jan., A.D. 212

This text, which was found 'floating near the town, S.E. Wall', has been reconstituted from a number of fragments. Of its two columns, the first preserves only a few letters from the ends of lines, written in three different hands, the first hand being identical with the first hand of col. ii. In the second column two persons make a declaration which is addressed to the royal scribe and acting strategus, no doubt of the Heracleopolite nome, that they have fulfilled a certain duty with regard to the forwarding of the corn harvest. The wording of their declaration is condensed, no doubt because fuller details were given in the lost preceding column (cf. τὰ προκείμενα πλοῖα, l. 9). If it related to the actual loading of the ship and, e.g., [πεπληρω]κένοι is restored in ll. 8-9, it is odd that there is no statement of the actual quantity taken on board and no engagement to fulfil the rest of a shipper's duties (cf. Wilcken, *GZ.* pp. 376 ff.). It therefore seems more natural to suppose the object of the declaration to be the actual provision of the boats required. The scribe has corrected the date following Geta's death.

Ἀπολλινίῳ τῷ καὶ Χαρήμον[ι βασιλικῷ] γραμματεῖ διαδεχο-
μένῳ]

καὶ τὴν στρα(τηγίαν)

Πλῆνις Πλήνιος ἀπὸ Ἑρμοῦ [πόλεως καὶ Διόσκορος]

Ἀμμωναρίου [Ἀ]βτινοεῖ[ς ναύκληροι πλοῖων . ἀγω(γῆς)]

5 (ἀρταβίων) Ἑνν. Ὀμνύομεν τῇ[ν τῶν κυρίων Ἀντοκρατόρων]

Μάρκου Αὔρηλιου Ἀντωνίνου [παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου]

καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτ[μί]ου Γέτ[α Βρεταννικῶν]

Μεγίστων Εὐτ[υχ]ῶν Σεβ[αστῶν τύχην]

κέναι τὰ προκ[ε]ίμενα πλοῖα [εἰς διέρασιν τοῦ]

10 δημοσίου πυροῦ καταγομ[ένου]

εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ Πόλει χει[ρι]σμόν τῇ ὁγδόῃ]

τοῦ ὄντος μηνός Τύβι. "Ε[τους εἰκοστοῦ]

Καίσαρ[ων] \ος/ Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ίου] 'Αντωνίνου].

Παρθικοῦ Μεγ[ίστου] κ[αὶ] Π[ουβλίου]

15 Traces

Σεβαστ[ῶν] \ου/ Τύβι ἦ

(2nd hand) Διόσκορος 'Αμμωναρ[ί]ου καὶ Πλήνις Πλήνιος]

ὁμωμόκαμεν καὶ [ὡς πρόκειται].

'To Apollonius, also called Chaeremon, royal scribe and acting strategus, from Plenis, son of Plenis of Hermopolis, and Dioscorus, son of Ammonarius, Antinoite, [masters of . . . boats, carrying capacity] 5450 artabae. We swear by the fortune of our lords the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Parthicus Maximus and Publius Septimius Geta, Britannici maximi Augusti, that we have . . . the aforementioned vessels [for lading of] the public corn being freighted down the Nile . . . to the administration in Neapolis, today being the 8th of the present month Tybi.' Date by regnal year and certification.

1. This official is not recorded in Henne, *Stratégés*.

4-5. For the restoration cf. P. Oxy. 1259. 2-4.

5-6. The names of both Caracalla and Geta figure in the oath formula, which suggests a date in Caracalla's 20th year = A.D. 211/2. Geta was murdered in February 212, and the day of the month here is Tybi 8 = 3rd Jan. (4th Jan. in the year following a leap year). On the other hand, in the date formula in ll. 13 and 16 the scribe has crossed out the genitive plural in *Καισαρῶν* and *Σεβαστῶν* and substituted the singular. It is more probable that this was a correction made later on in the year, than that there should have been confusion over the proper formula in January 213. It is worthy of note that the scribe contented himself with the correction of plural to singular and did not erase Geta's name. In l. 14 Παρθικοῦ clearly refers to Caracalla alone, and has been so restored in l. 6.

9. Restored on basis of P. Oxy. 1197. 11.

11. For χει[ρισμὸν] cf. P. Oxy. 1259. 3 note.

15. The traces are insufficient for identification, but no doubt Geta's name and titles stood here, also unerased.

217. SALE OF NINE COLUMN-DRUMS WITH BASES AND CAPITALS

1903.

6 x 26 cm.

A.D. 176-80

Memorandum from two inhabitants of Ancyronon to the ἀρχιερεῖς and probably other authorities of Heracleopolis, recalling the writers' offer to sell nine columns plus moulded bases and uncarved capitals at a total price of

2376 silver drachmae, and requesting that the ταμίας be instructed to pay out the sum named so that the stone-work can be delivered and erected. In spite of mutilation, the papyrus seems to show the ἀρχιερεύς acting as a quasi-municipal officer, and the additional pre-Severan evidence for the city ταμίας is welcome. The architectural work may have served both religious and civic needs, though its precise nature is not clear: it seems to have been the adornment of the palaestra situated close to a principal street of the town (l. 13 n.). The columns and accessories were presumably of the limestone quarried in Ancyronon itself, and the papyrus confirms the location of these quarries and of Ancyronon at El-Hibeh, as suggested by Grenfell and Hunt in Part I, p. 10, and confounds the scepticism of Fitzler, *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke*, p. 109.

At least one line lost

[6-7 ἀρ]χιερει
[. . . τῆς] Ἡρακλέους
[πόλεως] blank
5 [παρὰ . . .]ύνιος Παμογ-
[τίου καὶ Π]ανσίριος Πανῆ-
[τος τῶν] δύο ἀπὸ κώ-
[μης Ἀγκυ]ρώνων. ἐπεὶ
[7-8] . . . κεν . . [.]

10]ναί . [.] εἰς τῇ
Lacuna of two lines

]ρ πλατέια[ν]
[ἀριθμῶ (?) ἐν]νέα, μέτρων
15 [ὡς τῶν (?)] ἀνασταθέν-
[των, το]ύτους δὲ βου-
[λόμε]θα ἀποδόσθαι
[. . .]αγ ὡς τοῦ ἐνός
[ἐκά]στου κίωνος σὺν
20 [σπεί]ρα γεγλυμένη
[καὶ κε]φαλίδι ἀγλύφω
[ἀργυρί]ου δραχμῶν
\ ἐξήκοντα τε-
[δι]μοσίαν, ἀξιοῦ-

ὁσάρων / {
 [μεν] ἐπιστεῖλαι ὑμᾶς
 25 [τῷ τ]αμία ἐξοδιάσαι
 [ῆμῃ]ν τὴν σὺν οὐολ .
 [. . .] τιμὴν τῶν κιώ-
 [νω]ν ἐννέα καὶ κεφα-
 [λίδω]ν ἀγλύφων ἐν-
 30 [νέα κ]αὶ σφειρῶν γε-
 [γλυ]μένων ἐννέα
 [ἀργ]υρίου δραχμὰς
 'Βτ[ο]ς ἐπὶ τῷ ῆμᾶς
 παρακοίσαι τὰς
 35 [σ]πείρας καὶ τὰς κεφα-
 [λίδ]ας καὶ παραδοῦναι
 [εἰς τῇ]ν καθ' 'Ηρακλέου(ς)
 [πό(λιν) παλα]ίστραν ἐπὶ τῆς
 [γῆς κ]αὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων(ν)
 40 [ὡς πρόκι]ται.
 [("Ετους) ι . (?) Αὐ]τοκρατόρων Καισάρων
 [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου 'Αντωνίν(ου)
 [καὶ] Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κοιμμόδ(ου)
 [Σε]βαστῶν 'Αρμενιακῶν
 45 Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Γερμανι(κῶν)
 Σαρματικῶν Μεγίστων

15. First ν of ἀνασταθεν corrected from σ. 19. I. κίονος (so also 27). 20. I. γε-
 γλυμένη (so also 31). 30. ε in σφειρῶν corrected from ι. 40. I. πρόκειται.

'To . . . x, high-priest of Heracleopolis, from . . . unis, son of Pamontius and Pausiris, son of Panes, acting jointly, of the village of Ancyronon. Since . . . [the street, nine in number, measurements like those] already erected, and these we are willing to sell [at a price] for each single column, including carved moulding at base and uncarved capital, of two hundred and sixty-four silver drachmae, we request you to give written instructions to the treasurer to pay over to us the price . . . of the nine columns, the nine uncarved capitals and the nine carved base-mouldings, viz. 2376 silver drachmae, on condition that we transport the base-mouldings and capitals, and hand them over at the palaestra of Heracleopolis, set on the ground and on the columns, as mentioned above.' Date.

1. ὑμᾶς l. 24 suggests that there is more than one addressee, and a projecting strip of vertical fibres shows that at least one line has been lost.

8. *ἐπει* has been taken as conjunction introducing a clause, to which *τολῆτους δὲ* l. 16 introduces an adversative, both clauses being preparatory to the main verb *ἀεσοῦμεν* l. 23. Though the stylization of the sentence demands to be so understood, *ἐπει* might of course be part of the noun *ἐπει(κτων)* in agreement with the two persons named, continuing, e.g., *ἐπει(κτων λιβων τών) ἐνθάδε λατομίας* (words intended to indicate the general sense, for the actual traces in l. 9 do not much resemble *τῶν ἐνθάδε*). There is no actual instance of an *ἐπεικτος* *λίβων*, but the phrase seems a possible one on the analogy of other genitives after *ἐπεικτος* (If B. III. viii, s.v.), and it supplies a description of the writers which it would have been a little odd to omit, especially if they are in fact acting for the quarry at Ancyronon.

13. *πλστ* is quite clear, and the following traces suit *ερα[ν]* rather than *πλάτος* or *πλάτους*. If this reading is right, an adjective may have preceded. In l. 38 *ιστρων* cannot be tortured into *πλάτειαν*, but must inevitably be restored *παλα[ιστρων]*. The easiest reconciliation is to suppose that l. 13 gives the location of the work. Lines 10–13 might have run: *εἰς τὴν [καθ' Ἡρακλέους πύλιν] παλαιστραν πρὸς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν δημοσίαν πλάτεια[ν]*.

15. *ἀνασταθ[ε]των*: it seems that the columns for sale are already on the site (cf. ll. 35 ff., where only bases and capitals are mentioned as to be transported), and they are identical with others which have already been erected or restored.

18. At beginning not *τιμη[ε]*, which is to be expected, and the traces are not much in favour of *[ὑμῶ]*. Just possibly *θρως* (used for *ὤς*).

20. *σσειρά* (cf. l. 35 below, and *σφειρών* l. 30): 'rounded moulding in the base of an Ionic or Corinthian column', LSJ, with references to inscriptions and to Pollux and Vitruvius. This detail points to work in Greco-Roman style.

21. *ἀγλωφος* is quoted by LSJ only from the scholia to Sophocles, *O.C.* 101.

23. The reading of the price in this line is uncertain, since the supplement *[δε]* is on the short side, and the writing above the line is very small and crabbed. The reading given agrees with the total in l. 33, where the figures are fairly secure, and the restoration *[ο]* is the only possible one if the total is to be divisible by 9.

25. *ταμίς*: in the Roman period the term is confined to metropolitan or municipal treasurers. Before the Severan reform a *ταμίς* τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ ἱερατικῶν χρημάτων is recorded at Hermopolis (A.D. 195, P. Ryl. 86. 2). The double nature of his responsibility over *πολιτικῶν καὶ ἱερατικῶν χρημάτων* exactly suits the present context also.

26. *οὐαὶ*: for *οὐ*, with less probability, *οὐ* might be read. Either a participle like *συμπεφωτισμένην* or a dative such as *διαφόρῳ*, *ναύῳ* seems needed. *συναγο[λογουμένην]* is too long, and unlikely to have been abbreviated, *σὺν στολ[ισμῶ]* is short enough, but is unsatisfactory because its sense is technical for religious processions.

37. It is of course possible that *πάλιν* is omitted entirely after *Ἡρακλέους*, though I do not know of any parallel in the case of Heracleopolis for a use which is well substantiated in the case of Antinoë.

39. *[γῆς]* refers to the positioning of the base-mouldings, *κόνων* to the positioning of the capitals.

218. TAXING LIST OF HERACLEOPOLITE VILLAGES

1903.

25 × 28 cm.

First-second century A.D.

The value of this text lies in its geographical information about the villages of the Heracleopolite nome. Since many of the names are known to be of villages in the Koite toparchy, it is probable that the list is confined to that

toparchy, and it was so interpreted by Grenfell and Hunt, who partially exploited it in Part I, p. 8 (cf. index, p. 392).

The recto contains parts of three columns of an official account, in which the name of the village precedes the name of the individual payer. Amounts vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 units (drachmae?). The hand is a carefully formed, rounded cursive of the late first or early second century A.D. Of the first column only the figures remain, and col. iii (not printed) continues in the same fashion as col. ii, the only village names it contains which are not found in col. ii being Νῶβ[(not Νοῦ[ρεως]), Ἰππώνων, Μούχεως and Ἀσσύας.

The verso was re-used for a tax account of sums (in money?) arranged by villages, the handwriting being of the early or middle second century A.D. καθ(ήκοντα), which occurs in the heading l. 32 and covers the entries from ll. 33 to 71, is always used of money payments, either in the form of a fixed tax on land or as a supplementary fee on various trades and licences. Its precise signification here depends on the expansion of the following abbreviations, for which no convincing suggestion occurs to me. Νέ(ου) Σε(βασταῦ) cannot be read. It is not clear why some names occur twice over in this list. At l. 72 a register of individual payments is resumed. All entries were checked by oblique strokes in the left-hand margin. Of the three columns surviving, the third is very tattered, and only its first ten lines are transcribed. The following village names were not recorded in Part I, p. 8: Νίτωμι, Μαρχ[ι]χ() (?), Λεῖθις, Πάττ, Γαπασῶις, Τωύ, Πάμμ, Ὀνώσις, Πῶις, Φνεβῆις, Πο[]λομ(), Θμο[ι] .]αρι[ι](?), Νε . αῖτις, Νυ[ι](?), Τι[ι] . .]ομ(), Πο[ι] . .]εμ().

	Recto, col. ii	
	Πολέμων Ἡρακλήου [	
	Περόη Πανεδβεῦις Πετεχ[ώντος	
	Πετεχῶν Φ . . ηῶνος	.
	Πεκῦσις Ψεννιμούτιος	γ
5	Σαρυῖθις Πανινούτιος	α<
	Φιλονείκου Φίλων Ἡρακλᾶτος	δ
	Πατεῦρις Πνεφορῶτος	β<
	Ἀτρής Φάντιος	β
	Ἀγκυρώνων Ψεναμο(ῶνις) Ἀρχκώσιος	γ<
10	Ψάις μη(τρὸς) Θεναμούνιος	α<
	Φιλονείκ(ου) Πνεφο(ρῶς) Φύσκιων[ος]	γ
	Σαραπᾶς Ἡῦδαίμ[ονος]	α<

	'Αγκυρώνων Πνεφορώτο(ς) Τεῶτος	γ
	Κερκεσήφ(ε)ως Διόδωρο(ς) Περσβαύτος	α<
15	Τάλη 'Αρτιτύσις Θεαγέν[ο]υς	α
	Περρή Πετεχῶν Πετεχῶντος	β<
	Κόβα Π[α]νεδβ(εῦς) Ψευ[α]μούνιος	β<
	Κερκεσήφως Διονύσιο(ς) Σαρᾶτος	α
	'Αμοίς 'Ηράτος	[
20	Φιλονείκου Λεάνις Βαιρ[ισ]χάτος [	
	Τααμόρου Ψοσναῦς Βη[. . .]ς [	
	Μουχινθαη() 'Αρβήχης Πανοδ[ώ]ρου	
	Φιλονείκ(ου) 'Αντώνιο(ς) 'Απολλωνίου [	
	Μουχινθαη() Σεμβεύς Π[ε] . . . λου [	
25	'Αμμῶνις 'Ωρου	γ
	Τάλη Ψάις Πετοβάστιος	α
	Ψεβθονέμβ(ης) 'Απολλώνιος Πτολεμ(αίου) γ	
	Τάλη Ψεναμού(νις) Πετεχῶντος	<
	Μουχινθαη() *Ωρος Πολέμωνος	β
30	Ψεβθονέμβ(ης) 'Αφύγχ(ις) μη(τρός) Θαήσιος	α

13. 1. Πνεφορώς.

Verso, col. i		Col. ii	
(γίνονται) [τῆς] ἡμέρα(ς) 'ΑΨςβ'		Θμοινῶθ(εως)	να
(ἄν) καθ(ήκοντα) νε() με()		Φ[εβείχ]εως]νεβίεως	γ
		60 Χόννεως	β
'Αλιλάεως	πζ	Πο[. . .]λομ()	π
Κολασούχ(εων) ξγ		Πεενίβ(εως)	γ
35 Πεταχ(όρ)	ξς	Κόμα	γ
Νίτωμι	κθ	Κρήκεως	ιε
Μαστ[ι]χ()	η	65 Βουσ[είρε]ως [	
Σώβθ(εως)	ρμε	Θμοι[να]χ(ῆς)	
Πεενάμεως	δ	Θμο[. . .]ασι[	
40 Τερτονιχ()	γ	Γαπ[ασώ]εως [	
Μούχεως	α	Νε . . . άτεως [	
Τσοαχ()	ιγ	70 [Τ]ερτοναλ() [	
Λείθεως	λβ	Τέχθαι	πα

	Πάπα	ζ		
45	Τερνούφως	[]		
	Φεβε[ι]χ[εω]ς	ι		(γίνονται) Παχ(ών)[
	Γαπασώ[εω]ς	α		
	Τερτονιχ()	α		Παγγ[ι] α
	Τάεως	νε		Πώεως 'Ισās 'Ισάτ[ος]
50	Τωύ	σ	75	... κ() Παταλ() Διονυσία[υ
	Θμου[άχ(ης)]	μη		[Βουο]κίρεως Πανεδβ[εύς] Ααρ[
	Θελβύ	ι		είς τ[. . .] . . .
	Πάμα	σ . γ		Τέχθ(ω) Π . [. .] κης [
	'Ονώσεως	δ		Τερτ[ο]νηχ() Καλ() Μα[
55	Τοκώεως	ια	80	διὰ τ[. . .] Σώβθ(εως) Αδ[
	Νοήρεως	ζ		Π[. .] πειων . . [
	Πώεως	θ		'Α[. . .] ο . ύνης [
				Τερτρηχ() Π . τ[. .] τ[. . .] α
				Θμου[άχ(ης)] Πα α
			85	Νισάως Παβ . . . [
				Τοσαχ() Πε . . αθ() . . . λ() χ[
				Σώβθ(εως) Ε . [. .] μρς 'Ωρου [
				Τάχ(η) Σε[.] τ[. .] φσ[

72. 22) Pap.

Col. iii

	Συν[ρ]η 'Ορ[σ]νοσ[φ]ως
90	'Ονώ[σε]ως 'Αρεμ[
	Τέχ[θ]ωι Πα[τ]ε[σ]οφ[ι]χος
	'Ονώ[σεως] 'Αρ . τ[ι]
	Νω[. . .] Δι[ο]νη[α]ς
	Τ[ι] ομ() Μ[
95	Συ[φ]ά[ρ]ου Πα[
	Πα[. . .] ρμ() . . [
	Ν[ε]ι[
	. [

Lacuna of 4 lines, followed by parts of 17 more lines.

15. Τάλη : on the form cf. 36. 3 n.
34. Expansion from B.G.U. 1808. 22.
35. See B.G.U. 1808. 17.
37. Possibly to be read Μαγ[?] .]χ(). Not Μαγδαλ().
44. Cf. P. Michaelides 28. i Πάνα περί Φεβείων. The village in l. 53 below cannot be read as Πάνα.
49. Wrongly reported as Τάσεως in Part I, p. 8.
51. The name is more fully preserved in l. 84 ; and expansion of the abbreviation is from C.P.R. 115. 8, 9, etc.
52. The name is apparently not abbreviated, and the expansion to Θελβά(ιθεως) in Part I, p. 8 is therefore incorrect. Cf. P. Ross.-Georg. v. 20, V ii. 2, P. Ryl. 225, etc.
63. Probably to be distinguished from Κόβα (cf. l. 17 ; 56. 6 ; 123). See, e.g., P. Lille i. 59. 23, etc.
64. Cf. P. Lille i. 59. 39, etc.
65. Cf. l. 76 below and 116. 2.
70. I do not know whether Grenfell and Hunt had any other grounds for writing initial T (i.e. Τερρονα()) than analogy with Τερρονιχ() .
85. Νισεύς : cf. P. Lille i. 31. 1.

219. ASSESSMENT FOR 'Αναβολικά

1903.

8 × 19 cm.

A.D. 309

This mutilated text contains a declaration made by two persons whose official description is lost, under the heading] λίνου ἀναβολικοῦ, and is apparently an assessment of linen piece-articles (λίνα) to be produced in the year 309/10 by the linen-weavers of Ancyronon and surrounding villages (representing a district or pagus of the Heracleopolite nome?). It would seem not unlikely that at this period, at any rate, there were two distinct stages in the ἀναβολικόν tax procedure. In the first stage raw flax was collected at a fixed rate per unit of land (P. Thead. 34, P.S.I. 779) ; in the second stage the flax was distributed to weavers to be made up into finished articles at a fixed quantity per village. For this second stage, in addition to 219 there is the evidence of the fourth-century P. Ryl. 654. 4, in which it is remarked of a λινούφρος and his pupil τῷ ἀναβολικῷ πλῖστα συντελοῦσιν. Whether a single village was assessed at both stages simultaneously, whether some villages paid in flax while others made it up, and whether the weavers worked under royal monopoly is at present matter for speculation. The scanty evidence for the tax, which still awaits a satisfactory explanation, is collected by Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 214-19, and there is a recent discussion of it by H. C. Youtie in *T.A.P.A.* 73 (1942), pp. 73-5 ; cf. also H. I. Bell, *Mél. Maspéro* ii, pp. 105-11 ; K. Kalbfleisch, *Rh. Mus.* 94 (1951), p. 345.

[Μερισμός (?)] λίνου [ἀ]ναβολικοῦ
[τοῦ ἐνεστ]ῶτος [ἡ κα]ῖς [ἐτους]· ἔστι δέ·

[λίνα ἐπὶ κ]ωμῶν[ν] δοθ(έν)τα τοῖς
[ἀπό ᾿Αγκυρ]ώνων λινοφόοις· ἔστι δέ·

5 c. 8] . s [λ]ίνα υῤῥ
] s [λ]ίνα τμξ
] χεωs [λ]ίνα τ[.]
] λίνα φξ
]υψ[. .]ν' λίνα κξ
10]νεας [] λίνα σα
]μοι λίνα πδ
[᾿Αγκυρ]ώνων λίνα σ
περι Τέχθω λίνα ξ
] λίνα φξ
15] ουνεωs λίν[α] σα
[ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἤ]μων Οὐαλερίου
[Λικινιανού Λικιν]νίου Σεβαστοῦ
[καὶ Φλαοῦνι Οὐαλερίου] Κωνσταντιν[οῦ]
[νιού Σεβαστῶν] Θωθ
20 (2nd hand)]s ἐπιδεδωκα
(3rd hand) ἐπιδεδωκα

4. λενοῦφοις.

1. There is room to restore two letters after *λινου*, but it is likely that nothing is lost in view of the phrase in P.S.I. 779. 4 and P. Thead. 34. 25.

2. For the form of the date cf. P. Oxy. 1499 α , ($\tau\rho\omega\varsigma$ καὶ τ $\tau\rho\omega\varsigma$), the same calendar year but before Thoth, the first figure being of Galerius Augustus and the second of Maximinus Aug., while the Caesars Constantine and Licinius are ignored. They appear in the consular date 1. 16-19, which is of A.D. 309, not 307, as pointed out by Jouquet on P. Thead. 41 against Mitteis on M. Chr. 196 (cf. Degressi, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 76).

7. E.g. Μοῦ|χεως, Φεβεί|χεως.

10. Or *ἦναι*. Perhaps there is nothing lost after the s.

16. The writing is more crowded. For $\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon$ Σεβ. cf. P. Thead. 41. 3.

20, 21. In P. Thead. 34 the collectors are ἀποδέκται λίγων τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ. But perhaps this declaration is the work of the comarchs of Ancyronon (cf. 220).

220. RECEIPT FOR HAY

1903.

24 × 12 cm.

A.D. 335

Receipt issued by two superintendents of the public bakery at Babylon to the comarchs of Ancyronon for 803 pounds of hay, being the amount due

on 406 arourae over a four-month period for levy for workmen for 6 days and for maintenance (τροφέιον). This is the latest known document from Hibeh, and the appearance in it of *κωμάρχαι* 'Ἀγκυρώνων was notified in Part I, introd. p. 8. Found in a mound north of the town ('opposite the camp') in 1903. Written across the fibres.

Παρεσχε(ε)θησαν Παύλου Φειλώτου καὶ Ἀποφῶς
 Σιλβανοῦ ἐπιμελειτῆν δημωσείων
 ἄρτωκοπέων Βαβυλῶνος
 ὑπὸ Ἀπείωνος κωμαρχῶν κώμης
 5 Ἀγκυ[ρ]ώνων ὑπὲρ μερ(ισμ)οῦ ἔργατῶν
 ἡμερῶν 5 καὶ ὑπὲρ τροφείου ὑπὲρ
 ἀρουρῶν 55 χόρ(του) λί(τραι) ωγ τῶν ἀπὸ μηνός
 Παχῶν ἕως Μεσορῆ λ'. Παύλου δι' ἐμοῦ
 Μακαρίου σεσημειωμ[αι]. Μεσορῆ κθ'
 10 (ἔτους) κθ καὶ ιθ καὶ ε[α καὶ β]'

1. I. Παῦλος, 'Ἀποφῶτι. 2. I. ἐπιμεληταῖς δημοσίων. 3. I. ἀρτωκοπέων. 4. I. Ἀπίωνος.
 8. I. Παῦλος.

'Paid to Paul, son of Philotas, and Apphous, son of Silvanus, superintendents of the public bakeries of Babylon, by Apion (and others), comarchs of the village of Ancyronon, for the levy for workmen for 6 days and for maintenance, on 406 arourae, 803 pounds of chaff, being the amount from the month of Pachon to 30th Mesore. I Paul, through me Macarius, have signed. Mesore 29, year 29 = 19 = [11 = 2].'

2. ἐπιμεληται δημοσίων ἀρτωκοπέων Βαβυλῶνος: in P. Thead. 36. 23 (A.D. 327) ἐπιμεληται ἔργατῶν ἀρτωκοπίων Ἀλέξανδρίας give a receipt to the κωμάρχαι of Theadelphia. Neither the amount paid nor the period during which Theadelphia had to provide labour for the Alexandrian bakery is there stated.

4. ὑπὸ Ἀπείωνος κωμαρχῶν: the position of comarch is a collegiate office (Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 154), and here only Apion is named.

6. The intention of the levy is not only to provide 6 days' labour in the bakery, but also the cost of keeping the workmen during that period.

7. The reading ἀρουρῶν is somewhat doubtful, for there is a hole between the ρ and the ρ which could easily (though it need not) have contained further writing. It is hard to see what other word is possible. χορ after the figure has no mark of abbreviation. It looks as though the last digit in the two figures had been wrongly placed, and should read 806 pounds, 403 arourae.

8. There is no change of hand in this line.

9. The date formula follows the scheme explained by Grenfell and Hunt, note on P. Oxy. 1632. 9, and belongs to the same regnal year as P.S.I. 469. Oblique strokes visible on the papyrus after the lacuna make the addition of [καὶ β] not unlikely.

V

MINOR UNIDENTIFIED LITERARY TEXTS

- 221.** Mummy A. 3·6 × 7 cm. c. 270–240 B.C. Parts of 10 lines in a medium-sized, well-made book-hand, somewhat like a horizontally produced type of the hand seen in 1. The contents might be an argument to a tragedy, or mythological or historical. Traces of 2 lines ³]ς κλεπτω . [⁴]ωμ παρα τ . . [⁵]ω Λυγκεί ουκ α[⁶Δα]ναου ετη . ε[⁷]ηης Πελασγ[ου ⁸Θ]ετταλιαν [⁹χρ]υσος εν θησα[υρωι ¹⁰]εις Αργος π . [.
- 222.** Mummy A. c. 270–240 B.C. Three or more scraps of tragic content in a hand very similar to that of 221, with which it might easily be confused. The shape of κ and a greater regularity in size of particular letters (e.g. υ) suggest that it should be distinguished. Frag. i, 3 × 12·5 cm. : ¹]λωτον εσα[²Α]κταιων[³τ]ωι Κιθαιρω[νος τοπωι (cf. Sophocles, *O.T.* 1134) *space of one line* ⁴]ειας πεθ[ον ⁵]ικνει *space [space of one line* ⁶ . .]ς Πενθε[. Traces of ink below are part of another sheet superposed. Frag. ii : ¹Traces ²]ν στρατον [³]αι την γην [⁴]ερωσ ελων [⁵] πυλαι δ ημ[ν. Frag. iii has traces of 8 lines. Two further scraps, each with a few letters, may be part of this text.
- 223.** Mummy A. The two following scraps of a work of unknown nature (I suppose it might be verse) are included because they are written in large, square, archaic capitals, of the same type as 6, but bigger and more festive in appearance. Square ε, epigraphic α and ω, ξ formed of two horizontal strokes separated by a dot, lunar sigma. To be assigned to c. 300–280 B.C.* It is not certain that fragment ii is written by the same hand as fragment i. Frag. i : Parts of two lines ³] άναξ ξσε[ι ⁴]αται δέ ουτ[ε ⁵]ης ιερόν α[⁶]ετέρου [⁷]αιως δοκο[ύντ ⁸]ην σε μέλ[(first letter of μέλ[corrected from δ) ⁹] . η ξυστ[¹⁰τῆ]ς κεφαλ[ῆς Perhaps foot. Frag. ii : ¹]ε επι . [²] . ε επιδ[³]ημενων δ[⁴πρόσ]ωπο[ν *space of one line* ⁵] . σου[⁶] . λο[.]ς [⁷] δέ ἥδομ[*space of one line* ⁸]νοι ἐγεί[ρ ⁹]κ . [broken. Plate III.
- 224.** Mummy A. 10 × 12 cm. Parts of two columns from a gnomic anthology, the first column containing the ends of iambic trimeters, the second

* But cf. p. 45, n. 1.

beginnings of hexameter lines. Written in rough, tall, spiky capitals of moderate size to be assigned to c. 280–250 B.C. A considerable empty space precedes the writing of the second column, in which the first line, though not marked off from the rest, perhaps constitutes a heading. If it is correctly read (and the doubt is confined to the last three letters), it can hardly refer to any other than the fourth-century tragedian Chaereon. His *Κένταυρος* (μικτὴ βραψωδία ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν μέτρων, Aristot. *Poetics* 1447 b) might have contained a passage in which Chiron the teacher propounded to his pupils the bases of morality in hexameters (cf. the 'Hesiodic' *Χίρωνος Ὑποθήκαι*). Gnomic hexameters in papyri are a great rarity and no parallels are known to me. Col. i: Traces of two lines
³]χυνωτο[⁴]ουμνα[⁵]ενη κακόν ⁶ ὦσ]περ εἰ κλύων ⁷ γν]ώμης ἄτερ
⁸]ηι μάχου ⁹]ε[.]φρόνει ¹⁰] τ[ὼ]ν κακῶν ¹¹ φ]ρένας. Traces of five further lines. Col. ii: ¹ Χαίρῃμων ἐν [² χρῆ τιμῶν θεόν (?) ³ ἀρχή γὰρ θύ]γητος ⁴ ἱμέρου πάση[ς ἀρετῆς ⁵ ῥώμην τιμῶμεν μ]ετά ⁶ ᾗθος ἔχουν ὅσιον ζη]λοῦ ⁷ μή πᾶν κέρδος ὄρα [⁸ . [. .]ν[.] . κίαν σαντ]οῦ broken.

225. Mummy A. Consists of five scraps from an unknown prose work written in a beautiful small book-hand to be assigned to c. 270–230 B.C. The verso is written on by two cursive hands. Printed here since fragment iii, l. 2 seems to offer the word *κοτεινός* (= *κοτήεις*, LSJ), otherwise known only as a conjecture of Boeck's for *σκοτεινόν* in Pind. *Nem.* vii. 61. Fragments i, ii, iii may succeed each other more or less directly as parts of the same column, but the different hand on the verso shows that iv and v must belong elsewhere. Frag. i, top of a column:]ν from previous column opposite l. 1. ¹ τε[² ν . . [. Frag. ii:]ε of previous column opposite l. 4. ¹ καὶ [² ρον[³ τατ[⁴ τα[. Frag. iii, 3 × 3 cm.: ¹ [. .] βανασ[. . . [(*βανασ[ε]κ[. . .* is possible) ² καὶ κοτεινά [³ δῆ καὶ οἱ π[⁴ κ[. . . [. Frag. iv: ¹ τῶν ²] βουλε. Frag. v: ¹ Traces ²] . λον ὄντες κα[³]εσ οὐ προδιαβα[iv. Plate III.

226. Mummy A. Eight scraps, perhaps from an *ἐρωτικός λόγος*, written in a small, neat, rounded book-hand to be assigned to c. 280–230 B.C. Five of the scraps are too small to be worth printing. Frag. i, 5.5 × 4.5 cm.: ends of 7 lines of col. i, then col. ii: ¹ . [² τὰ δὲ . [³ τας καὶ τ . [⁴ καθ' ἑκαστ[⁵ τοὺς θεοὺς [παρα] ⁶ νομουντ[⁷ εαν[. .]ου[⁸ ρ[. Frag. ii, 5.5 × 4.5 cm.: Space or top margin ¹]τος τοῦτο οὐ τὰς διὰ τ . [²]ν συντ[ε]λοῦσιν καθάπερ [³ ἀμ]οιβὰς ποιοῦνται ν . . [⁴ ἀλ]λ' ὅταν [⁵ . .] ἐραστώ[ν ⁶ . . .]να[. Frag. iii, 3.5 × 3 cm.: ¹ 5] . . . [²] . . . [δ]ιάκονον [³]μοις ὑποδεδ[⁴] φέρουσιν [.]ρηει[⁵ . . .]ατιος α[.

- 227.** Mummy A. Consists of five small scraps, both recto and verso of which may be part of a speech, dialogue or treatise on education and poetry. The recto hand is a medium-sized, squarish capital of a common type, to be dated c. 280–240 B.C., while the verso hand, tall and angular, and inclined to lapse into cursive forms, is not much later. It is to be expected that the verso text, which is much effaced and of which only that on fragment i is printed, is from a different work than that represented on the recto. Frag. i, 3.2 × 7 cm.: Top margin ¹ [.] επ[.] ν δὲ α[² τῶμ μὲν . [³ ιαν ἐπήνε[σα μάρ] ⁴ τυρας παρ[έχειν ⁵ περὶ ταῦτα [⁶ μου- σικῆς οὐ[(traces of a previous column opposite this line) ⁷ δ' ἐπαινομε[ν (sic) ⁸ πρέψαι μα[⁹ αὐτῆς ὡς θ[¹⁰ φαύλω[¹¹ [.] . . . On a detached fragment at the top are the letters]ολε[. Frag. ii, 3.5 × 3.5 cm.: ¹ . . . καὶ ἦ[² ἀλλήλοις ὁμολ[ογ ³]ειν τὰ τοιαῦτα . [⁴ . . .] . . .]ρα ἀσθε[⁵ . ἀλ[λὰ καιρὸς ὁ λ[⁶ 5] . ε[λ]ναι π[. Frag. iii, 1.5 × 3.0 cm.: ¹ .]λη[²]κοντ[³]τημ[⁴]ναυτ[⁵]ς συν[. Frag. iv, 2.5 × 4.5 cm.: Col. i: ¹]μα ²]τα . \ος/ ³]την ⁴ space ⁵]τις ⁶]τις. Col. ii: ¹ . . . [² σν[³ μνη[⁴ τος [⁵ τε[⁶ πα . [⁷ νει[⁸ ανε[. Frag. v, 2 × 5 cm.: ¹ . . .]η[²]ν[.] . α[³]ον κα[⁴] . πεισε[⁵]ν[⁶]αν[⁷]εμ[⁸ . . .]ωλει[⁹ γ]υναῖκα [¹⁰ .]ψυχ[.] . . . Verso of frag. i: ¹ . . .]υ[²] εἰραῖ μουσ[ικ[³] . . .]μη space οὐκ [⁴] . ιν οἱ μουσικοὶ . [⁵ ὧ]φελει πρὸς ἀρσ[⁶ . . .]τει space ἀρα [⁷ Foot.

- 228.** Mummy A. Two fragments which might be part of a speech, a dialogue or a treatise, written in a hand of the same general style as 5, but with better formed as well as larger letters, to be assigned to c. 270–230 B.C. If the restorations in fragment i are sound, there were 14–17 letters to the line, and the width of the column measured about 6 cm. When complete the MS. must have been a handsome one. Frag. i, 7.5 × 8.5 cm.: ¹ 3] . . . ντολ . [(hardly εὐτολμ) ² . . .] τήν τύχην [³ . . .] μὲν ἐπεὶ α[ρ[ε]

\η/
⁴ [φθό]νγον συνίμεν. ⁵ [τῇ]ν μουσικ ν τοῖνυν ⁶ [ἀπ]ασαν λέγωμεν εἴ[κ] [κ π]όλεις ἐκάστη[s] Foot. Frag. ii, 5 × 7.5 cm. Col. i at top: ¹]επ[.] . ²]σω[s] ³] Then broken. Col. ii: ¹ [. . .] . . . ² δ μῆ . [³ . μαλ[⁴ μεν[πό] ⁵ λεως[⁶ δ μῆ β . [⁷ προ[τ[ερ ⁸ [τ]ραπ[Broken.

- 229.** Mummy A. Out of 30 scraps the 7 largest or most informative are reproduced. The handwriting is a very small, neat, square capital, not unlike 3, and is to be assigned to c. 280–240 B.C. π is flat, ξ square, ω often angular, made in five strokes and resting on well-marked horizontals. The only punctuation is the paragraphus in conjunction with a space in

the line. The hand is not unlike that of P. Grenf. ii. 7 (b) (see introduction, p. v), but is compacter and more tightly drawn, and both lines and letters are closer together. To judge from their shape, these scraps derive from a mummy breast plate cut up in an open-work pattern like 3, and the results gained are equally disappointing. Line 3, 40 letters long, is the only complete line. It is not possible even to decide on the nature of the text represented. Fragment i might suggest a philosophical treatise, but the tone of the rest in both vocabulary and specific allusion (*θεωρίαι* (l. 8), temples (l. 23), barbarians (l. 35), a *τείχος* (l. 40), a *ἡγεμών* (l. 29) and *Odysseus* (l. 37)) seems rather to be oratorical in the Isocretan manner. Lexical tests have proved negative. The passive participle *τὸ ἐπιθυμούμενον* (l. 3) seems elsewhere in Greek to be paralleled only in Plato, *Phileb.* 35 D. For convenience the lines have been given a continuous numeration. Frag. i, 14.5 × 7.5 cm., from the foot of a column. To the right are beginnings of 12 lines of a second column, not printed here. Of the first 5 lines of col. i only isolated letters are recoverable, then follows: ¹[...] *διωκόντων ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ* [...] *μετ* [...] ²[...] [...] *των τὸ μὲν ἀληθές* [...] *οὐχ ὑπ[ο]μ[ο]νήσαστα, τὸ* ³[δὲ ἐ]πιθυμούμενον γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶ[ι] νομίσαντα. Foot. Frag. ii, 11 × 7 cm., which could be higher up the same column as i. Of its first column, rather over 20 letters are lost on the left, of its second, 25 or more letters on the right. Col. i: ⁴... *νων* [...]. [...] *ροις* ⁵*ἐξ* *ἀν* [...] ⁶*κατε* *α* [...] *ν* *ἡγοιμεν* [...] ⁷... *space* *τοῖς φοβερωτάτοις καὶ* [...] *ας τῶν πολιτῶν* [...] ⁸... *σίως θεωρίας δρᾶσθαι*

ADDENDUM

At the very moment of publication 228 has been identified as Plato, *Sophistes* 223 E 4—224 A 2 and 224 B 1-3. Fragments i and ii join and give parts of two columns. A fuller evaluation of the text will be attempted elsewhere.

frag. iv, 5 × 2 cm.: *space* [...] *προσ* [...] *μοι δοκεῖ δηλῶσαι κα* [...] ³²... *προνοούντας καὶ προσ* [...] ³³*τ* [...] *ξιν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων* [...] ³⁵*ους κ[α]ὶ βαρβάρους* [...] *space* [...] ³⁶*π* [...] ³⁷*τὸν Ὀδυσσ[έα]* ³⁸*μονα* [...] ³⁹*φ* [...] *space* [...] ⁴⁰*τείχους ἐλθο* [...] ⁴¹*κ[ι]νδυνεον* [...] ⁴²*προδίδειν ἐπ*. Foot.

230. Mummy 69/70. 5.5 × 2.5 cm. c. 280–250 B.C., written in a cursive

227. Mummy A. Consists of five small scraps, both recto and verso of which may be part of a speech, dialogue or treatise on education and poetry. The recto hand is a medium-sized, squarish capital of a common type, to be dated c. 280–240 B.C., while the verso hand, tall and angular, and inclined to lapse into cursive forms, is not much later. It is to be expected that the verso text, which is much effaced and of which only that on fragment i is printed, is from a different work than that represented on the recto. Frag. i, 3·2 × 7 cm.: Top margin ¹[.]επ[.]ν δὲ α[²τῶμ μὲν[³ιαν ἐπήνιξε[σα ⁴μάρ] ⁵τυρας παρ[έχειν ⁶περὶ ταῦτα[⁷δ' ἐπαινομέ[ν σικῆς οὐ[(traces of a previous column opposite this line) ⁸ἐπαινομέ[ν (sic) ⁹πρέψαι μα[¹⁰αὐτῆς ὡς θ[¹¹φαύλω[¹²]. . .]. On a detached fragment at the top are the letters]ολε[. Frag. ii, 3·5 × 3·5 cm.: ¹... ²καὶ ἦ[³ἀλλήλοις ὁμολ[ογ ⁴εἰν τὰ τοιαῦτα[⁵...]. . .]ρα ἀσθεν[⁶ἀλλὰ καιρὸς ὁ λ[⁷5] ⁸ε[λ]λαι π[. Frag. iii, 1·5 × 3·0 cm.: ¹...]λη[²κοντ[³τημ[⁴ναυτ[⁵ς συν[. Frag. iv, 2·5 × 4·5 cm.: Col. i: ¹μα ²τα ³ος/ ⁴την ⁵space ⁶τις ⁷τις. Col. ii: ¹... ²ου[³μνη[⁴τος[⁵τε[⁶πα[⁷νε[⁸ανε[. Frag. v, 2 × 5 cm.: ¹...]η[²υ[³α[⁴ον κα[⁵...]. . .]περ[ε[⁶...]αν[⁷...]εμ[⁸...]ωλει[⁹γ]υναῖκα[¹⁰...]μνη[¹¹...]. . . Verso of frag. i: ¹...]υ[²εἰρα μιν[³...]μη space οὐκ[⁴...]ιν οἱ μουσικοὶ[⁵ὠφέλει πρὸς ἀρ[⁶...]τει ⁷Foot.

- [...]
π]όλεως ἐκάστη[s] Foot. Frag. ii, 5 × 7·5 cm. Col. i at top: ¹επ[.]ν δὲ α[.] ²τῶμ μὲν[.] ³ιαν ἐπήνιξε[.] ⁴μάρ[.] Then broken. Col. ii: ¹[.] ²δ' ἐπαινομέ[.] ³μαλ[.] ⁴μεν[.] ⁵πό[.] ⁶λεως[.] ⁷δ' ἐπαινομέ[.] ⁸πρὸς ἀρ[.] ⁹μνη[.] ¹⁰μνη[.] ¹¹μνη[.] ¹²μνη[.] ¹³μνη[.] ¹⁴μνη[.] ¹⁵μνη[.] ¹⁶μνη[.] ¹⁷μνη[.] ¹⁸μνη[.] ¹⁹μνη[.] ²⁰μνη[.] ²¹μνη[.] ²²μνη[.] ²³μνη[.] ²⁴μνη[.] ²⁵μνη[.] ²⁶μνη[.] ²⁷μνη[.] ²⁸μνη[.] ²⁹μνη[.] ³⁰μνη[.] ³¹μνη[.] ³²μνη[.] ³³μνη[.] ³⁴μνη[.] ³⁵μνη[.] ³⁶μνη[.] ³⁷μνη[.] ³⁸μνη[.] ³⁹μνη[.] ⁴⁰μνη[.] ⁴¹μνη[.] ⁴²μνη[.] ⁴³μνη[.] ⁴⁴μνη[.] ⁴⁵μνη[.] ⁴⁶μνη[.] ⁴⁷μνη[.] ⁴⁸μνη[.] ⁴⁹μνη[.] ⁵⁰μνη[.] ⁵¹μνη[.] ⁵²μνη[.] ⁵³μνη[.] ⁵⁴μνη[.] ⁵⁵μνη[.] ⁵⁶μνη[.] ⁵⁷μνη[.] ⁵⁸μνη[.] ⁵⁹μνη[.] ⁶⁰μνη[.] ⁶¹μνη[.] ⁶²μνη[.] ⁶³μνη[.] ⁶⁴μνη[.] ⁶⁵μνη[.] ⁶⁶μνη[.] ⁶⁷μνη[.] ⁶⁸μνη[.] ⁶⁹μνη[.] ⁷⁰μνη[.] ⁷¹μνη[.] ⁷²μνη[.] ⁷³μνη[.] ⁷⁴μνη[.] ⁷⁵μνη[.] ⁷⁶μνη[.] ⁷⁷μνη[.] ⁷⁸μνη[.] ⁷⁹μνη[.] ⁸⁰μνη[.] ⁸¹μνη[.] ⁸²μνη[.] ⁸³μνη[.] ⁸⁴μνη[.] ⁸⁵μνη[.] ⁸⁶μνη[.] ⁸⁷μνη[.] ⁸⁸μνη[.] ⁸⁹μνη[.] ⁹⁰μνη[.] ⁹¹μνη[.] ⁹²μνη[.] ⁹³μνη[.] ⁹⁴μνη[.] ⁹⁵μνη[.] ⁹⁶μνη[.] ⁹⁷μνη[.] ⁹⁸μνη[.] ⁹⁹μνη[.] ¹⁰⁰μνη[.] ¹⁰¹μνη[.] ¹⁰²μνη[.] ¹⁰³μνη[.] ¹⁰⁴μνη[.] ¹⁰⁵μνη[.] ¹⁰⁶μνη[.] ¹⁰⁷μνη[.] ¹⁰⁸μνη[.] 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the line. The hand is not unlike that of P. Grenf. ii. 7 (b) (see introduction, p. v), but is compacter and more tightly drawn, and both lines and letters are closer together. To judge from their shape, these scraps derive from a mummy breast plate cut up in an open-work pattern like 3, and the results gained are equally disappointing. Line 3, 40 letters long, is the only complete line. It is not possible even to decide on the nature of the text represented. Fragment i might suggest a philosophical treatise, but the tone of the rest in both vocabulary and specific allusion (θεωραῖαι (l. 8), temples (l. 23), barbarians (l. 35), a τεῖχος (l. 40), a ἡγεμών (l. 29) and Odysseus (l. 37)) seems rather to be oratorical in the Isocratean manner. Lexical tests have proved negative. The passive participle τὸ ἐπιθυμούμενον (l. 3) seems elsewhere in Greek to be paralleled only in Plato, *Phileb.* 35 D. For convenience the lines have been given a continuous numeration. Frag. i, 14.5 × 7.5 cm., from the foot of a column. To the right are beginnings of 12 lines of a second column, not printed here. Of the first 5 lines of col. i only isolated letters are recoverable, then follows: '[...] διωκόντων ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ [...] μετ[...]² [...]·[...]·των τὸ μὲν ἀληθεῖς] οὐχ ὑπ[ο]ν[ο]ήσαντα, τὸ³ [δὲ ἐ]πιθυμούμενον γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶ[ι] νομίσαντα. Foot. Frag. ii, 11 × 7 cm., which could be higher up the same column as i. Of its first column, rather over 20 letters are lost on the left, of its second, 25 or more letters on the right. Col. i: '[...]·νων[...]. [...]ροῖς ἐξ ἀν[⁵]κατε α[...]. [...]·ν ἡγουνμε[...]⁶...] space τοῖς φοβερωτάτοις καὶ⁷ [...]ας τῶν πολιτῶν⁸...]·σίψις θεωραῖαις δρᾶσθαι προ-⁹πα[μ]πολλῶν κα[ι] θεωρου-¹⁰ [...]·[...]·λν[...]. [...]·[...]·των Parts of 7 more lines of which 3 letters survive at end of the line. Col. ii: '[...]·σεν ημε[¹²ἐμ[ε]λλεν τοῦ πρώτου[¹³τος τὴν δ' ἀσφάλεια[¹⁴ω δεύτερος επ[¹⁵νυν ε[...].]πιαν α[¹⁶μ[...].]προσελῆσθαι[¹⁷ξ[...].]·με μαι...[¹⁸ελ[έ]σθαι φαινομ[¹⁹ἀς γε πολλοὶ π[²⁰λαθοῦσιν οὐπ[²¹c. 8]μωρ[...]. Frag. iii, 3.3 × 3.5 cm.:²²αγ[γ]ε[λ]μα[...].²³δρῖων ναῶν[²⁴·σάτων[...].²⁵ης θηρεῦναι κ[²⁶των ἐπόριστο τ[²⁷··τ]ρίνον τουτ[²⁸5]αιωσαν[²⁹5]·ἡγεμορ[...]. Frag. iv, 5 × 2 cm.: Blank space³⁰·[...]·πίστι τὰ οὐτ[³¹·ρ. ὡς μοι δοκεῖ δηλῶσαι κα[...].³²·[...]·προνοούντας καὶ προσ[³³τ[...]. Frag. v, 6.5 × 3 cm.: Traces of 3 lines, then: '[...]·ξιν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων [...]·[³⁵5]ους κ[α]ῖ] βαρβάρ[ο]υς[...]. Traces of 3 more lines. Frag. vi, 4.5 × 6.5 cm.: Traces of 6 lines³⁶τωμ π[³⁷τὸν Ὀδυσσ[έ]α³⁸μονα[³⁹·]·φαι[...]. Frag. vii, 2.5 × 2 cm.:⁴⁰·τ[έ]χους ἐλθο[⁴¹κ]ινδυνεο[⁴²ἐμ]προδίζειν ἐπ[...]. Foot.

230. Mummy 69/70. 5.5 × 2.5 cm. c. 280–250 B.C., written in a cursive

resembling that of 182. Scrap of 4 lines, containing an ἀπορία or γρίφος, which may be from a serious work on physical philosophy. Not part of the same text as 17. Ll. 2-4: ² ὁ αὐτὸς τρέχει καὶ ἔστ[ηκεν, οὐ] ³ μὲν φθέρεται οὐδ[έ] ⁴ αὖξεται.

231. 1903. From the same piece of cartonage as 172, three tattered fragments in a good semi-cursive hand of c. 250 B.C., recorded here in spite of their wretched condition because they are from a musical treatise. Frag. i, 5 × 14.5 cm.: ¹ κα[.] . . .]νατα[² . ρε[³ [.] πα[.]]τη[⁴ λρ[⁵ π . τρν . γ . γ[⁶ με[.] με[], followed by space of one line. In margin to left in smaller letters]ποκει |]οριστα |]ναι (? [τὰ ὑποκει- [μ]ενα [ἀ]όριστα [εἴ]ναι)). Then: ⁷ τῆς δὲ Λυδιστ[ι], followed by four unreadable letters as a heading above two vertical lines 3 cm. long, 2 cm. apart. Then: ⁹ ἐν ταύτα[ι]ς συγ[¹⁰ completely abraded ¹¹ κατ' ἀναπα[¹² κα καθήκει ¹³ ταύτη[¹⁴ τα[.]]τα γ[Foot. The lines may be quite short, so that 11-12 might run κατ' ἀναπα[ιστι] καὶ καθήκει. Frags. ii and iii, completely detached but probably same hand; ii:]B B Γ[

]C Ὑ M[

iii:] . ὙΠΠΑΥΠΥ . [. Last letter of ii, l. 1 could equally be part of Π or M.

232. 1903. 2.4 × 5.2 cm. 3rd century A.D. Plate III. On the verso of an official letter or document, in a large hand of the later second century A.D. (about 3 letters in each of 4 lines survive). The verso hand is minute (there are 15 lines in a bare two inches of height) and the appearance of this tiny capital, which slopes slightly to the right, suggests a Christian text. L. 7 might begin εὐαγγελία, in which case probability is perhaps in favour of a Christian rather than a classical context. Lexical search under ἀφορίζω, supposing that verb to be used in l. 14, has failed to identify the text. There is a line drawn over καθότι, l. 6, or below l. 5, rather in the manner of a *nomen sacrum*. ¹] . συγ[²] . δεο[³] . γφω[⁴] . εκφερ[⁵] . υρι ποση[⁶] . καθοτι κ[αι ⁷ ενα]γγελια τ[⁸] . ητις ως [⁹] . ν του δ[.] ο[¹⁰] . αιειν αλ[¹¹] . ν περι της [¹²] . τα ταντ' ει[¹³] . τερον δε τ . [¹⁴ . . .] . αφοριστε[¹⁵ . . .] . κη η[.

VI

MINOR DOCUMENTS

(a) PTOLEMAIC

- 223.** Mummy A. 7.5 × 7.5 cm., and two scraps. c. 250 B.C. Recto, parts of 12 lines in a small, neat documentary hand not far distant from book-hand, to be assigned to the later years of Philadelphus, probably from a dossier of legal proceedings. Quoted here for mention of the *φρούραρχος* acting in company with the *strategus*. Ll. 3-11: ³ εἰ δὲ μηθὲν τούτων c. 6-9 ? ⁴ ἐπαν[ε]ληλύθαμεν [c. 8-11 ?] ⁵ φέρον[τ]ες τὸ πρόσταγμα [α πρὸς] ⁶ τὸν φρούραρχον κ[αὶ τὸν στρατηγόν] ⁷ γόν' ἔκείνοι περὶ τούτων ἐπισκέ- ⁸ ψωνται. *space* ποῖαι βίαι [c. 8-11 ?] ⁹ τι τὴν γυναῖκα . [(not γυναῖκα) ¹⁰ πε παρω[.] κακ[¹¹ σκεύη [.] . [. On the verso ends of 13 lines in a careless cursive, possibly medical receipts. L. 8: μέ[λιτι *space* δυσ- πειρίας δε.
- 224.** Mummy A. 10 × 19 cm. Euergetes. Recto, across fibres, parts of 20 lines almost obliterated. The address can be made out ¹ οἱ ἐλαιοπῶλαι τῆς ἄνω το ² παρχίας τοῦ Ὁξύρυ(χί)του ³ Ἡρακλεῖδι χαίρειν. The text continues in 5 lines, along the fibres, on the verso, where perhaps the lines were longer than on the recto: ⁴ καὶ οὐθὺς ἡμᾶς βουλευμε[(sic) ⁵ οἱς ἄλλος διακοῦσαι ἡμᾶς [⁶ τὰ ἀδικήματα καὶ ὅσων [⁷ καταβε- βλέκαμεν (l. βεβλή-) τοῦ πρχ[⁸ προσδέχονται ἡμῖν ἥδη [⁹ (upside down) Ἡρακλεῖδι.
- 225.** Mummy A10. c. 27.5 × 10 cm., in three fragments. c. 250-240 B.C. Oxyrhynchite nome. Petition to the king against a woman who refused to grant a *βεβαίωσις*, apparently according to the terms of a lease. 8 lines, followed by 2 lines subscription from Dorion (see **201**, introd.). Ll. 1-3: ¹ [Βασιλεῖ Πτ]ολεμαίω χαίρειν Σπάρτακος Θραῖς τῶν Ζωίλο[υ *space* ?] ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Διονυσίας ² [12] ρος μισθώσασα γάρ μοι τῆς [.] . (ἀρούρας) [.] στ[. .] . [. .] ³ [12] . παντ[. . . .] οὐκ ἐβεβαίωσέμ μοι καθά[περ ἡ συγγραφὴ διαγορεύει; l. 6 καθ]άπερ ἡ συγγραφὴ διαγορεύει. εἰ[ν] δὲ μή μοι καὶ νῦν βεβα[ίωσις; l. 9 (2nd hand) Δωρίων Ἀ[ριστίωνι ¹⁰ εὐρηκας . [.
- 226.** Mummy A10. 25 × 9 cm. c. 250-240 B.C. Oxyrhynchite nome. In two fragments. Petition to the king from Melanthius, complaining of

theft or housebreaking. Parts of 8 lines and traces of a subscription. Ll. 1-4: ¹[Βασιλ]εὶ Πτολεμαίω[ι] χαίρειν Μελάνθιος. *space* ἀδικουμαι [²...[...].³...ξάντων γάρ τινων [τῇ]ν θύραν τῆς οἰκίας μου ἐν Θώλλῃ νυ[κτὸς] ³[...].⁴...β. *space* ὦν καὶ σ[...].⁵...ν ἔδωκα Ἑρμίππῳ τῷ φυλακίτῃ ⁴[...].⁶...ἐντε[ν]ξ[ι]ω ⁴] Πάτρωνι πλεονάκης περὶ τοῦτοϋ. Patron is described in 34 (of 243/2 B.C.) as phylacites of the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Cf. P. Teb. iii. 744-9.

237. Mummy A. 13 × 7 cm., written across the fibres. Euergetes. Parts of 7 lines of a petition to the king. ¹[Βασιλεῖ Πτολ]εμαίω χαίρειν Φίλιππος Κυρρηναῖος (?) ²ῥα (?) διὰ Φιλίππου Ὀρφέτου (?) Κυρηναίου ³κατὰ δ[ι]αθήκην καταλίσ[σ]ντος μοι ⁴συκοφαντηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ... ⁵].⁶...ὡν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπογράφαι. ⁶ ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπιτροπῇ ⁷Traces. A Φίλιππος Κυρηναῖος τῶν Ζωίλων is the borrower in a loan of 245/4 B.C., probably at Oxyrhynchus, P. Ross.-Georg. ii. 1.

238. Mummy A (probably A15). 15.5 × 11.5 cm. Euergetes. Perhaps Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. 36). Parts of 11 lines of a petition to the king directed against Heracleides, perhaps an ἐπιστάτης. The offence complained of seems to have concerned a false registration of sheep. ¹[Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω χαίρειν x ἀδικου]μαι ὑπ[ὸ] Ἑρακλ[ε]ίδου ἐπ[ιστάτου] (?) ²[35-40]...βῆ. [...].³...σθαί...³τερον καὶ μὴ ἔχειν μῆθῆν [⁴]. ἡγά[κασε]ν με ὁ φυλακίτης [...]. ἀπογράφασθαι [⁵]...ἐδ...[...]. γράψασθαι τῷ [σὺ]μβολ[ο]ν ἵνα . φε...πρε...⁶ου γενομένου χρόνου δεῖ [...]. ενου (δει[ξα]μένον ?) [...]. Φίλιππο ⁷... παρατίθῃται αὐτὴν ἐπ[ὶ] τοῦ κριτηρίου διὰ παν[τός] ⁸]. ἡν Ἑρακλείδου λεῖαν αὐτ[ὴ]ν πεποιθῆσθαι ...[...]. εν σ.[(corrected above line at end, ...[...].ων τινων []) ⁹ῃ ἀνακαλέσασθαι Ἑρακλ[ε]ίδην κα[ὶ] ἔαν ἡμὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως ¹⁰... ἀδικῇ ἵνα ἐπὶ σε κ[α]ταφυγῶν, βασιλεῦ, ...[...].¹¹... εὐτύχει.

239. Mummy 41. 15.5 × 9.5 cm. Euergetes or Philopator. Traces of 15 lines of a petition to the king, quoted for the name of a στρατηγός elsewhere found only in 211. 15. Provenance unknown. Ll. 6-9: ⁶δέσμαι οὖν σοῦ

Ν[...].⁷... βασιλεῦ, [ἐ]ὰν ἡμ[εῖς] ⁷ων γενομένων ἐξαρνο[ν] μ[ε]. [συντάξει γράψαι Πει] ⁸θολάωι * τῶν στρατηγῶν [ἐ]πανα[γ]κασάι ⁹χόμενον τὰς διακοσίας κ (δραχμὰς) [.

240. Mummy A (A9 ?). 7 × 8.5 cm. c. 250-245 B.C. Parts of 7 lines of memorandum from Ptolemaeus (cf. 51, introd.). The restoration of the addressee's name as Zenodorus (see 210) is probable in view of Ptolemaeus' other correspondence with him (59, 60). It is also possible that this

* The correct reading is due to Mr. T. C. Skeat.

cartonage derives from the same mummy. ¹ ὑπόμνημα Ζη[νοδώρου οἰ-]
² κονόμει καὶ τοπάρχῃ παρὰ ³ Πτολεμαίου. εἰ σοι δοκεῖ.] ⁴ ἐπ[ι] χύφρας
 ἔχειν Μ[5] ⁵ ρον (e.g. Μ[ηρόδω]ρον, Μ[ητροδω]ρον) διὰ τὸ τὴν χρησάμ[ω-]
 τάτην (?) ⁶ γῆν ἀναπεπαύσθαι [...] ⁷ .. ἵνα δύνωμαι τα[[...]]
⁸ τ. ρ. [

241. Mummy A. 25 × 8 cm. About 250 B.C. Letter (to Apollonius the dioecetes ?) in a chancery hand resembling that of Apollonius' own clerks.

¹ [χ 'Απολλ]ωνίω χαίρειν. τὸ δεσμωτήριον τ[ο] ² [c. 10 ἐν] 'Αφρο-
 δίτ[ης] πόλει συν[έ]πιπτεν. ἦν [ο]ῦ[ν] ³ [c. 25 γ]ράψον μοι ὅπως μ. [⁴ [c. 25] ἡραγκασθῆμ[εν] ⁵ [c. 25] α καὶ τ. . [Traces of
 a following interlinear line, then broken.

242. Mummy A. 13 × 17 cm. Euergetes or Philopator. Parts of 13 lines from the middle of an official letter, written across the fibres. Lines 1-8 :

¹ [π]ρὸς 'Απολλ[ώνιον] . . . ανεπ[10] ² [π]αρατη[ρ]εῖ (?) σε νῦν καὶ
 τὰ γγ[η]σια (?) . . . οὐκ] ³ ἄγνοεῖν δὴν τρόπον ἀνακεχ[ωρή]κασιν οἱ ⁴ [γε]ωργοὶ
 εἰς τὸν 'Ηρ[α]κλεοπολ[ί]την πρὶν σέ (?) ⁵ παρα[γ]ενέσθαι. .[. .] τοῖς γει-
 ν[10] ⁶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις ἀν[10] ⁷ ἐπιστέλλων μὴ λίαν
 ε. [10] ⁸ τυνχάνω πεπομφῶς [10].

243. Mummy A6. 22.5 × 12 cm. c. 260-250 B.C. Lower portion of two columns of an official letter. One subject discussed is tax alleviation, and it may be connected with that in 205. Athenagoras and probably Apollonius the dioecetes are mentioned. The line was at least 40 letters long, probably more. Col. i, parts of 10 tattered lines, ll. 11 ff. : ¹¹ [μ]σ[-] θώσεως τὰς (δραχμὰς) λ κεκουφίσθαι. ¹² [λ]υσταμένων τῶν λοιπῶν. χωρ[ί]ς δὲ πάλιν ¹³ ἐνέχεσθαι (?) πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ τὴν φορολογίαν. Col. ii, beginnings of 15 lines : ¹ Traces ² προσφέλουσιν οὐκ ³ [. . .] ν πρότερον κ[α]τ[-] ⁴ εἰ σοι δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν κ[⁵ λογισάμενος οὕτω[ς] ⁶ προσ-
 τασσόμενον α[⁷ ἔχει ποιεῖν με πρὸς [⁸ 'Αθηναγόρας κατ[α] ⁹ 'Απολ-
⁹ λώνιος. περὶ δὲ τ[¹⁰ τῆς τοῦ β[α]σ[ι]λ[¹¹ ἐστὶν ποιήσεω[ς] ¹² ζητή[ς],
 ἅν [μ]ῃ φο[¹³ τήσεως 'Απολλών[ι]ον προσδό[¹⁴ κίμος δ' ἐστὶν [. .] [¹⁵ γνωρίσα[.

244. Mummy A. 7.5 × 6.5 cm. Scrap from the top right-hand corner of a document beginning ¹ Φοίνικι διοικ[ητῇ] ² παρὰ Θε[ο]δοτό[ου] ³ [6-8] τε[ε]. The handwriting is of the end of Philadelphus' reign or the early years of Euergetes. Phoenix the dioecetes (before 242 B.C. ?) is already known from P. Baden 13. 1 (plus a new fragment, published in Seider, *Beiträge z. ptoł. Verwaltungsgesch.* pp. 79-80), also a letter from Theodotus; the latter official appears also in 245 and 246, but I cannot identify his office.

245. Mummy 126. 16.5 × 12.5 cm. c. 250–240 B.C. Beginnings of 8 lines of an official letter from Dionysius to Theodotus (cf. **244**, **246**) written in a good chancery hand across the fibres, much abraded. ¹ Διονύσιος Θεοδότῳ [χα]ίρειν ² ση[σ]άμου ἐν τῇ δια[] . [] . [] ³ μηνὸς ὡς ἂν λάβῃ[is] τὴν [ἐπιστολὴν] ⁴ π[λ]ήθος κατὰ κώ[μ]ην (?) καὶ [⁵ εἰς τὰ σπέρματα κα . . . [⁶ ἵνα ἀμήσαντες τὸ λοιπὸν τ[ὸ] σήσαμον (?) ⁷ συντάξωμεν ἀποστέλλειν ⁸ εἰς τὰ ἐλαιούργ[ια] σὺν τῶ[ις] κ[ι], followed by space (perhaps complete therefore). Verso, along the fibres, docket] συρλόγ() κγ, then in large letters: Θεοδότῳ.

246. Mummy 85. 15 × 4 cm. c. 250 B.C. Beginning of an official letter. ¹ . . . χαίρειν. τῆς παρὰ Φανία ἐλθούσῃ[s] ἐπ[ιστολῆς] ² ὑπέταξά σοι τὸ ἀντίγραφον. ³ [Φανίας]]ει χαίρειν]. ⁴ Ἀλέξ[αν]δρον τὸν ἀποδεδωκότα ⁵]ν τῷ οὐ[] . [] γ . . [] . [] κ . [] . []]ωι τῇ ἐπιπέμ[ω]ν. Verso, along fibres, in a large and good hand: Θεοδότῳ. Then, in a different hand, and upside down:] ἐπισκέψασ[θαι] ?]. It is impossible to verify Θεοδ[ό]τῳ as reading of recto l. 1. Opposite l. 2 of recto the following has been added in a tiny hand:] . . . μὸν δὲ ἐξαυτῇ[s] γ]εγράφηκά σοι ὅπως εἶδης συν . . . | ἀλλὰ δι[] . . . [] καθότι γράφεις. Phaniasis is probably the well-known γραμματεὺς τῶν ἐπιπέμων (Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 131; P. Teb. 940. 1, etc.).

247. Mummy 82. 16 × 16 cm. c. 250–240 B.C. Beginnings of lines of official letters contained in a letter-book. The second and third letters are preceded by date or a serial number (l. 7), and two names in the nominative, Πυρρίας Θεόφιλος. Ordinarily in cases of letters collected into books, a name in the dative indicates an addressee and a collection of letters sent (e.g. P. Cair. Zen. 59015, 59023 or P. Ashmolean, published by Mahaffy, *Royal Irish Acad.* xxxi (1898), p. 6), a name in the nominative indicates a collection of letters received from that person (e.g. P. Cair. Zen. 59562). Possibly here Pyrrhias and Theophilus are colleagues,* or in partnership, though the use of the first person plural in *τυγχάνομεν*, κτλ. does not, in view of the stylized use of the plural, offer any certain ground for supposing this; or since Theophilus is alluded to in the text, the two names may stand for 'letter of Pyrrhias about Theophilus'. There is insufficient evidence to identify these persons, though Theophilus could be the high official ('hypodioecetes', Edgar) of P. Cair. Zen. 59831, P. Mich. Zen. 58, etc. ¹ Traces ² ταῖς διαγραμμά (l. διάγραμμα) κα[] ³ ποιήσας[θα] ἀποδόν[] ⁴ τὴν πωλεῖν ὑμεῖς . . [⁵ γινὼν δοῦναί τὸ πλῆθος [⁶ προ-πωλήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ⁷ ἑ Πυρρίας Θεόφιλος. ἐγράψατε ἡμῖν 23] ⁸ ὧς

* Cf., e.g., P. Teb. 28, a letter written jointly by two persons. The editors suggest they are 'agents sent on a tour of inspection'.

Θεοφίλου μάλιστα διακεί[24] ⁹[6-8] ρούντων ἔπαινον ποιεῖσθαι
 τ[20] ¹⁰[ἐ]χεν. τυγχάνομεν δὲ καὶ πλεονάκις γεγραφότες ¹²]
¹¹ θγα ἀ τῶν οἰκονόμων καὶ γραμματέων τοῦς α[17] ¹² . . .] ἵξεσθαι
 δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων. ὑπελ[άβομεν οὖν μάλιστα ἐπι] ¹³ τεδεον (? , l. ἐπιτήδειον)
 \ε/ἵναι τὸ ἐφ' ἐκαστῷ ὑμῖν γράφειν ὡς ἐπιμελήθητε ὅπως μὴ] ¹⁴ ὑπὸ τοῦ και-
 ροῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβάσσει[ω]ς ἐπικωλύθητε. ¹⁰] ¹⁵ ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς πειρα-
 σόμεθα τὸ ἀνεγκλήτου (a, corr. from ε) [¹¹ ἀντέ] ¹⁶ χεσθαι. τούτου γὰρ
 γενομένου ἐπ . . . τρύτων Θεοφίλ ¹⁴ ὕ] ¹⁷ μέεις ἐγκωμιάζοντες ῥύ[σ]εσθε
 ἡμᾶς. ¹⁸ ἄλλῃ. Πυρρίας Θεόφιλος. ἐγράψατε ἡμῖν ἀκηκοῖναι (l. -έναι) τοῦ[ς
 ἐν] ¹⁹ ἱερεῖς κεχε[ι]ρρογραφηκέναι ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ ση[σ]άμου καὶ τοῦ[
 Foot of column.

- 248.** Mummy 82. Some 10 or 20 fragments of official correspondence dealing with the collection of olive oil in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Written in a good official hand of c. 250 B.C. The whole of one of the larger pieces and a portion of a second are here given. On the basis of ii. 19-20 a length of line of 40 letters seems likely. Frag. i, end of a letter dated Epeiph 24, followed by balance Pachons to Payni. Mentions villages of Senepate and Kerke[m]ous. Frag. ii, 12 x 17.5 cm.: ¹] ρομ[² [17]] σοιν Φανώνιος [φυ]λακ[ίτου] (?) ³ [17]] με(τρητήν) α χ(όας) θ, τῇ δὲ β τ[ο]ῦ[⁴ [17]] ωνίου καὶ Πετεμ[ο]νήμιος . [⁵ [15] τὸ] περὶ ὅν ἔλαιον εἰς τὸν Μεσορ[ή] s[pace] ⁶ [17]] φύλακι (sic) παρέδωκα Μεν[⁷ [14]] ο[] κρονόμοι τῇ διαθεσί παρα[⁸ [14]] τὸν προὔπαρχοντα καὶ τοῖς φυλα[κίταις] ⁹ [12]] γε[] γραφα οὖν ὑμῖν ἵνα εἰδῇτε. Με\σο/ρῇ[s[pace] ¹⁰ [14]] τὸ π[ε]ριὸν ἔλαιον ἐκ τοῦ Παῦνι εἰς τὸν Ἐπειφ ¹¹ [13]] φ[. . .]] τῷ Ἐπειφ ν[ς], (γίνονται) με(τρηταί) ογ χ(όες) ε, (ὦν) ¹² [13]] Μ[ε]ρμ[ο]ρθα Φαώνι με(τρ.) 5 χ(ο.) 5 Ἀνγχις με(τρ.) α χ(ο.) 5 ¹³ [16]] η (γίν.) με(τρ.) 5 χ(ο.) γ, Νεομείμις διὰ Πετεθύμι[ος] ¹⁴ [17]] Σεμθέως χ(ο.) ια καὶ διὰ Πεθύμι[ος] ¹⁵ [16]] Σι[] κέφα διὰ Ὡρου με(τρ.) δ χ(ο.) 5, Χύσις διὰ ¹⁶ [16]] δι[] Παλοῦτος με(τρ.) β χ(ο.) δ, Τρύβις διὰ ¹⁷ [16]] . [] λωτος β Τμοιωντὸν διὰ Διδύμου ¹⁸ [14]] . . . διὰ Κομράπιος με(τρ.) α χ(ο.) γ, Σκῶς διὰ Ἰμούθου ¹⁹ [με(τρ.) . χ(ο.) . ἐντέτα]λκα οὖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὑμῖν[ς] μετρήσασθαι τὸ ²⁰ [ἔ]λαιον . . . καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε (l.-ετε) διαπελυσάμενοι. Foot of column. Frag. iii, 9 x 15 cm., ll. I-13: ¹ . πω[²]ος με(τρ.) δ, (γίν.) . ε[ς], (γίν.) [³] . Συρίου (for Σύριον ἔλαιον cf. P. Petr. iii. 47) με(τρ.) γ καὶ μ[α]ν (possibly μ[α]λ[ι], i.e. Μ[α]λ[η]σίον) s[pace] ⁴] γράφετε ἡμῖν περὶ παντὸς κα[⁵ τῶ]ν ἐλ[α]ιωπωλῶν ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ⁶ δ οἰκο- νόμος ἐτήγχανεν ὦν ἐν Τακ[όνα]· ἐ[⁷] τὸ δεσποτήριον καὶ τῇ ε̅ ἔπαγ . . [⁸ Π]ετοσίριος τοῦ μαχίμου ἐπιπ[⁹ οἰκο]νόμων (?) Σινάρ ἀφείλετο να[¹⁰]σων Πυθοῶρου τοῦ φυλακ[ίτου] ¹¹] μιν φάμενος Ζηρόδωρ \ο/ν (possibly

the οἰκονόμος of 210, etc.) αὐτῶι ¹² σειν . ἐὰμ μ[ή] γράφ[τε] παρα . [¹³] . ν ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας. The villages in ii. 12-18 (of which *Ανγ-
χης, Τροῦβις and Τμοιθωῖντ are new) belong to the upper Oxyrhynchite
toparchy.

249. Mummy A16. 7.5 × 14 cm. c. 258-254 B.C. This letter, like the three following, is from Leodamas, an Oxyrhynchite official connected with the corn revenues, six letters from whom were printed as 45-50. The new letters, written in minute, careless hands, are very difficult to read, since the surface of the papyrus has been badly abraded. 22 lines. Ll. 1-8 : ¹ [Λε]ωδάμας Λυσισμάχῳ ² [χ]αίρειν . ³ ἐπιτορεῖον εἰς ⁴ Τελαῶτιν (?) καὶ ⁵ ἐπαναγ ⁶ κάασ[τε] τ[ρ]ὺς ⁷ ὀνθρώπους (l. ἀνθρ-) ⁸ οἱ ἐπαμ[ίσ]τ[αν]ται σνγάγειν ⁹ τὸν σ[ί]τον. ¹⁰ καὶ τὴν μὲν κριθὴν ¹¹ καὶ ὀλύραν σννεχε καθαρὰν ¹² οὐσαν, τὸν δὲ ¹³ π[ρ]ὸν ἀποδοῦ. Later Demetrius (cf. 47. 2 or 34) is mentioned. In view of σννεχε ('hold', i.e. 'do not sell'), probably σννέχεσ(θαι) should be read in 47. 3. For the sudden changes from 2nd person plural to singular cf. 46. 11-12.
250. Mummy A16. 5.5 × 26 cm. 256/5 B.C. Letter of Leodamas to Lysimachus, 31 lines. Unreadable. Dated (ἔτους) κς Τῦβι κη.
251. Mummy A16. In 3 fragments, width 8.5 cm. c. 258-254 B.C. Same hand as 249. Letter from Leodamas to Antipater (cf. 48. 11). Frag. i, 9 lines. Ll. 1-5 : ¹ Λεωδάμας Ἀντ[ισ]τήτρῳ χαί²ρειν. τὰ ἐκφόρια Δ[ιο]-
γιστοδῶρῳ ³ σπ[ω]ς [κ]ομμεῖτε <ε>[λ]ληφ[ρ]ας (readings very uncertain) παρὰ ⁴ Πολέμωνος καὶ Π[υρ]ρίου. ⁵ διημαρτυρόμην . [. Frag. ii, initial letters of 6 lines. Frag. iii, 5 lines : ⁶ [. . .] . ἡδην. ὁ γὰρ Πολέμων [καὶ] ⁷ [ὁ ἀ]βελφός αὐτοῦ Πυρρίας σ[ί]τον ⁸ [εἰς τὸ] β[ασ]ιλικὸν οὐκ ὀλγ[ο]ν ⁹ καὶ ἀργύριον ὀφείλουσιν. γε ¹⁰ γράφαμέν σοι ἵνα εἶδης (corrected from εἰδεις). ἔρρωσο. No date.
252. Mummy A16. 6.5 × 13 cm. c. 258-254 B.C. Letter of Leodamas to an uncertain addressee (not Lysimachus, who is mentioned in the body of the letter). 16 lines. Ll. 1-2 : Λεωδάμας [. . .] νμῳ (e.g. [Διδ]ύμῳ) χαίρειν.
253. (Mummy A13). 12 × 19 cm. Letter of which the opening is missing, and the writing so badly effaced as to be scarcely legible. Possibly also to be connected with the Leodamas correspondence, in view of the reference to ὁ ἀριθμός (cf. 47. 11) and the fact that the hand is to be dated in the later years of Philadelphus. L. 2 perhaps ended in a proper name, but it is not Πλουτάρχῳ, Κλειτάρχῳ or Λυσισμάχῳ. ¹ Traces ² [. . .] θω[. . .] . α . γε . . . χω[. . .] ³ ἀμελοῖ[ν]τι. βραδ[έως γὰρ 3-4] ⁴ κεν εἰς τὸ πρῶσα . [5-8] ⁵ ἀνακομῖσθαι. ἐάν σοι οὖν ⁶ φαίνηται πρὸ τοῦ παραγενέ⁷σθαι με τὸν ἀριθμὸν γίνεσθαι, ⁸ ἐπιμελήθητι ὅπως ἐν ⁹ τοίμῳ

ποιήσης ἄπερ δεῖ ¹⁰ πρὸς τὸν ἀ[ρι]θμὸν καὶ ἄμ μη ¹¹ θὲν πρᾶξ[σ]ης κατα-
γρ(άψ)ας ἂ μή. Traces of five further lines, greeting and a date.

254. Mummy A. c. 260–240 B.C. 12 × 11 cm. Across fibres on verso, recto being blank. Twelve lines of an official letter (perhaps complete, but last three lines are much abraded) from Alexandros (cf. 255, but not otherwise identifiable) to Apollonius. Ll. 1–9: ¹ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀπολλωνίω[ι] ² χαί-
ρειν. ἀπέστειλάς μοι Π[ερ] ³ δίκκαν ἀπαγγέλλοντα π[α] ⁴ ραγεῖν εἰσθᾶί σε Ἰτῆ
γι/ καὶ ἅμα τὸ ⁵ σιτάριον ἐτόμιον η Ἰποιῆσαι σανγυῖ/. ἐὰν δὲ (η is pro-
bably an unerased relic of a change of construction; afterwards ἐὰν δὲ
μή was perhaps intended) ⁶ ἐξαντῆς ἐξ[ω]νται (?!) πᾶς ἐ[ν] ⁷ τῶι μέσῳ
(cf. P.S.I. 352. 2) κείτα[ι]. ξτι οὖν ⁸ καὶ νῦν ⁹ εἰ σοι φαίνεται π[α]ρα ⁹ γενοῦ
ῶπως κ[] . . . [] ξ[] . . .
255. Mummy A. 11 × 6 cm. c. 260–240 B.C. On recto across fibres, traces of
parts of 3 lines of an official letter; on verso, along fibres, parts of seven
lines of an official letter from Alexandros (cf. 254) to Apollonius. Two
smaller fragments, with many erasures, may also belong. ¹ [Ἀ]λέξανδρος
Ἀπολλωνίω[ι] [χαίρειν.] ² τῶν . γ . λαῶν περὶ σπειρομετ[ρίαν] ἀδικη ³ σάντων
κατεδίδωκεν . . . [6–8] ⁴ τῶν δ' ἐτέρων ἐπιστρεψα[μένων] ⁵ τὰ
κατατρέχοντα (perhaps as accounting term, cf. P. Antin. 32. 7, etc.) αὐ[τ]
⁶ προσέβαλλον αὐτοῖς κα[ὶ] ⁷ [. . .] ἀλλοῖς [.
256. Mummy 14. 249 B.C. 9.5 × 9 cm. Last 6 lines from an official letter.
¹ Traces ² [.] . ἀπ[] . ἀντες. καλῶς ³ [οὖν πο]ήρε[ι]ς συντά[ξ]ας ὅπ[ω]ς
⁴ [ἄ]ρτος αὐτοῖς ἦξει ἵνα μὴ ⁵ τῇ λιμῇ ἀποθανῶσιν. ⁶ ἔ[ρ]ρωσο. (ἐτους)
λξ Θῶνθ κῆ.
257. Mummy A9. 9 × 17 cm. 247 B.C. Parts of 19 lines of an official letter,
heading missing, much tattered. The date at the foot is (ἐτους) λθ Μεσορή
ῶη.
258. Mummy A15. 8 × 9.5 cm. c. 230 B.C. Parts of 8 lines of a letter, referred
to in the introduction to 75. ¹ Θεόδωρος (see 75, 105) Ἀρμυνῆ[ι] (cf. 36)
² χαίρειν. τὴν παρὰ ³ Μενεκράτει ἡμίονο[ν] ⁴ [εἰ] καὶ ἄε[ι] τις/ ἄλλη [τις]
ὑπάρχ[ει] ⁵ ἐν Ἰτῇ κώμῃ/ [τοῖς τόποις] [. . .] [μη] ⁶ θενὶ ἐπιτρέ[πειν]
.. ἐξά ⁷ γειν ἐκ τῶν τόπων. ⁸ γέγραφε γάρ [.
259. Mummy A (? A11). 14 × 15 cm. 235 B.C. Private letter dealing with
contributions εἰς τὸν ἔρανον. ¹ [. . .] ἰσθ Δ . . δώρωι (not Διοδώρωι) χαί-
[ρειν]. ² ἀφ' ὧν ἐπέγραψεν ἡμῖν ³ εἰς τὸν ἔρανον [(δραχμῶν)] ξ ἔχω παρὰ
⁴ Ἀπολλοφάνους δραχμὰς ⁵ τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτ[ὼ] ⁶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς [ἀλ-]
⁷ λαντοπώλαις [] ⁸ ἔρωσο. (ἐτους) λξ Μεσορή ἰξ. The ink is faded
and the surface rubbed, and the readings in ll. 2 and 7 are little better
than divination.

260. Mummy 126. 11.5 × 3 cm. c. 260–240 B.C. Scrap of 3 lines (letter ?).
¹ Traces ² ... ν μεταγράφον ἐν τῷ ³]..[] 'Ἀμεινῆτος γυάρχου.
 If γυάρχος (or -ης) is not a name, or an error for γυν(ασι)άρχος (unlikely when coupled with name 'Ἀμεινῆτος), it is a *noumenon*.
261. Mummy A12. Width 25 cm. 239/8 B.C. Six fragments of a contract of loan made at Oxyrhynchus by Belistiche (the first syllable is clearly written Be-, not Bc-, and the ethnic Τυρία, if read right in 262. 4, might point to a Phoenician origin for Philadelphus' notorious mistress).^{*} Another loan by Belistiche is found in 262, and both 261 and 262 were mentioned in the introduction to 89 as authorizing the restoration of its prescript. Written across the fibres, and the verso was later reused. The tiny writing is too faint to read once the guidance of the formula has gone. Two further fragments contain small portions from the interior of the contract, and an additional one is from the foot, with references to but not the names of witnesses. Ll. 1–4 (on 3 separate fragments): ¹ [Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου]ν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ 'Ἀρσινόης θεῶν 'Ἀδελφῶν ἔτους ὀγδόου ἐφ' ἑ-
² ρέως 'Ονομά[στου τοῦ Πύργ]ωπος 'Α[λεξάνδ]ρου καὶ θεῶν 'Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν] κ[α]ν[η]φόρου ³ 'Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου 'Ἀρχεστράτης τῆς [Κτησικλέους] μηνὸς Λῳίου [ἐν 'Οξυρύχων π[όλ]ε]ι ⁴ τῆς Θηβαΐδος. εἰ-
 νεισεν Βελιστίχη ... [Τυ]ρία μετὰ κυρίῳ c. 15].
262. Mummy A12. 17 × 5 cm. 239/8 B.C. First 7 lines of contract of loan made at Oxyrhynchus by Belistiche, for whom see 261. Across the fibres, verso blank. Ll. 1–4: ¹ Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ 'Ἀρσινόης θεῶν 'Αδελφῶν ἔτους ὀγδόου ἐφ' ἑρέως 'Ονομά²στου τοῦ Πύργωνος 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν 'Α[λεξάνδ]ρου καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν κ[α]ν[η]φόρου 'Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου ³ 'Ἀρχεστράτης τῆς Κτησικλέους μηνὸς Λῳίου ἐν[δ]εκάτῃ ἐν 'Οξυρύχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαΐδος. εἰδάνεισεν ⁴ Βελιστίχη Μν ... ἰον Τυρία μετὰ κυρίῳ .
263. Mummy 10. 15.5 × 14 cm. c. 225 B.C. Parts of 27 lines, forming the end of the outer copy of a contract of lease, similar to 90, B.G.U. 1267, etc. The section detailing the land that was leased is lost (if indeed it was stated at all). Lessor is Apollodorus, lessees Zopyrion and three partners. Ll. 7–10 (after 2 lines erased): ⁷ τὰ δὲ ἐκφόρια τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἀποδό-
⁸ [τω]σαν Ζωπυρίων καὶ [8] καὶ Πλοῦταρχος καὶ 'Αρνώτης ⁹ [ἐμ] μ[ην]ι

^{*} Cf. Petrie, *apud* E. Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemies*, p. 77, n. 4, suggesting the name is Phoenician, 'Ba'al-yishtag' = 'Baal is appeased'. O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 205, somewhat hesitantly takes the name as a Macedonian form of Greek Μελοστήχη. For Belistiche herself testimony is conflicting, though, as T. C. Skeat reminds me, the Bilistiche who was kanephoros in 251–250 B.C. (P. Cair. Zen. 59289) was daughter of Philon.

Ξανδικῶι τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ξ[τους] ¹⁰ [σῖτ]ον κρηρῶν καὶ ἄδολον τὸν γενομένον ἐν τῇ γῇ. Left-hand side of following six lines badly abraded, so that nature of crops additional to wheat cannot be made out, but price per artaba of wheat to be paid as fine (in case of non-payment of rent) is 4 drachmae. Thereafter the usual provisions and sanctions; amount of ἐπίτιμον in case Apollodorus fails βεβαίου (l. 20) τοῦς γινομένους καρπὸς ἐν τῇ γῇ is 300 drachmae. Names of witnesses illegible. Docket on verso ²⁸ [συγγραφή] ²⁹ μισθώσεως γῆς ³⁰ πρὸς Ζωπυρίωνα καὶ ³¹ τοῖς μετόχους. Two smaller pieces, one of which contains the last lines of an inner contract and traces of the beginning of 7 lines of an outer, may belong to this lease.

264. Mummy A8. 9 × 18 cm. 249/8 B.C. Parts of 8 lines in demotic, followed by a Greek docket, 9 lines. ¹ (ἔτους) λξ 'Αθῦρ ι. συ[γγρ]αφή ² περὶ Πτολεμαίου ζυτικῶν (cf. P. Mich. 121, R IV. vi. 2, note) ³ φν ὠφέμιν. [Ω]φίς Τεῶς Ψε ⁴ [νῆς] 'Απολλόδωρος Ποτα ⁵ [μώνι]ος ὄλυ(ρῶν) (ἀρταβῶν) κε δραχμῶν ⁶ ὀκτώ. ἔγγυος Δημήτρι ⁷ ὅς Χαλκιδεύς. (λοιπὰ) προσ ⁸ ὠφέλιησα ἀπὸ Μεχεῖρ ἕως ⁹ Μεσορῇ (δραχμάς) ρ.
265. Mummy 41. 18 fragments, many of them mere scraps, from a land survey of the end of the third century. Years mentioned are 15, 17, 1 and 2, so that year 1 will be Epiphanes 1. These fragments are therefore the latest in date from Hibeh cartonnage. The main entries are written in a large bold official hand, to which a second scribe has added comments in a tiny cursive. The text of the best preserved fragment runs: 12 × 11.5 cm. 9 lines. ¹ Traces ² ὑπὲρ σπέρματος (?) τοῦ [³] (ἀρτάβαι) λς βιάζονται εἰς τὸν 'Αρσινόητην [⁴ (2nd hand)]. βα() να() πα() τοῦ α (ἔτους) γεγενῆσθαι ποταμοφόρητον ἐτι ἐν τῷ ιζ (ἔτει) ⁵ (1st hand)] ... νο() (ἀρourke) ς ρ ρ M (sic) αὔται δ' ἐπιδιηρέθησαν [⁶] ὑπογεγραμμένων κλ(ήρων) ὅς καὶ προσ[ε]δέξ[α]ντο οἱ γε[ω]ργοί (?) ⁷ (2nd hand) 'Ιμοῦ-θου (ἀρουρ.) ι 'Απολλωνίου ι Δημητρίον ι 'Αντιγόνου ι [⁸ (1st hand)] ιζ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως τῷ τσπάρχηι (ἀρουρ.) μ ⁹ (2nd hand)] ὁμοίως ἀμπε(λώνας) blank.
266. Mummy A13. 9.5 × 18.5 cm. c. 250 B.C. This fragmentary account was referred to in the introduction to 115. Claire Préaux (*Écon. royale*, p. 112 and n. 9, where the evidence is collected) supposes the τετάρτη καὶ εἰκοστή ἐρίων to be a tax collected by farmers on the raw material used, and the association here with χειρωνάξιον may perhaps confirm this supposition. The words θν... (l. 4), . χυλμου (where instead of χ, ζ or even ξ might be read, and the ending might be -κου) (l. 5), may be descriptions of the wool (cf. 'Αράβια, Μιλήσια ἔρια in P. Cair. Zen. 59430. 7 and 10), but I

cannot identify them.* Traces of ink at the beginning of ll. 1 and 4 suggest that the account was kept by days of the month. ¹] . . Διογένης κ'δ' ἐρίου (δρ.) ηλ < τῷ τρίτον παρα[² αλλ . . . τα blank ³ Λυκίσκος (?) εἰς τὴν κ'δ' ἐρίων τῷ[. . .] . . [⁴ Θεόδωρος κ'δ' ἐρίου θυ . . (δρ.) αλ ⁵] . . [] τῷ . . . εἰς τὴν κ'δ' . χυλῶν [⁶ Πετρεσοῦχος (χαλκοῦς η) blank ⁷ Πα- [. . .] αριτ[[κ'δ' ἐρίων] ⁸ [] . . [⁹ (γίνονται) τῷ Παχῶν (δρ.) λη [¹⁰ χειρωναξίου ιβ[. Space, and then traces of ends of six further lines.

- 267.** Mummy 10. c. 230 B.C. Four scraps from a tax register, written in a minute hand, and perhaps forming part of the same series as **70** (a) and (b). The largest piece (6 × 15 cm.), which to judge from the other fragments was probably in the form of a marginal entry between columns, runs as follows: ¹ ἐκφορτῆς ἀγορανομίας (this heading very uncertainly read, and the impost is not known). ² α Θαφρῆς Αἰμούθου ³ ὦν ἐπρίατο κατ' Αἰγυπτ[ίαν (cf. l. 7 and **70** (b) 5, where *συγγραφὴν* is added) ⁴ παρὰ Δωριάνος Μεσσημ ⁵ βριανός (l. -οῦ) τῶν Κρατέρου ⁶ ὁμοίους) ᾱ . . εργων Ταθ[⁷ φρηαρ ὦν ἐπρίατο κατ' Αἰγυπτ[ίαν] παρὰ . . .] ⁸ ὁμῶς τοῦ Πάσιτος περὶ . τ[⁹ τῆς βασιλείας προσόδ[ων. Then one line space, followed by heading *ἐπωνίων* (cf. P. Cair. Zen. 59206. 20, etc.) and four lines of dates by days of the month and names, followed by total in l. 14 (*γίνονται*) ιδ (τετράβολον).

- 268.** Mummy 63. c. 260 B.C. A large number of fragments, nearly all only half a column wide, written in a somewhat coarse capital of early type, consisting of accounts with quantities in κῶ (κόφινος ?) and ᾱ (ἀργεῖα ?), possibly accounts of a vintage. 35 κῶ are once equated to 1 dr. 2½ obols, while the ᾱ is usually reckoned at one obol, sometimes rather less. Payments are made in one case as *κάτεργον ἀλέταις* [] *ἡθήταις* (*addendum lexicis*) ταμίαι ὑδροφύλακι ιατροκλύστη[ι] (for the restoration cf. ll. 15–16 below) (*πεντάβολον*), and a frequently recurring item is *προπωλητῶν*. One scrap is headed *κε ἡθήσις*. A portion of one of the larger pieces is given as a specimen. 16.5 × 18.5 cm. Col. ii, ll. 2 ff.: ¹ ἀνάλωμα [² κοφίνον ᾱ κ[³ προπωλητῶν ⁴ γίνε(ν)ται] ᾱ λδγ' διάφορον ⁵ (λοιπὰ) ᾱ μηβ' (γίν.) . . [⁶ ταις Τάτμησις ᾱ [⁷ Πισαῖσις ᾱ β (γίν.) (δυσάβολοι) (γίν.) . [⁸ Πισαῖσις Πετ[⁹ παρ' ἐμού ᾱ α[¹⁰ (γίν.) ᾱ γς' (γίν.) (τετράβολον) [¹¹ ὁ κόφινος ᾱ . [¹² τιμῆς ᾱ ε (γίν.) (πεντάβολον) ¹³ (γίν.) ᾱ μηβ' (γίν.) (δραχμαί) η [¹⁴ βασιλ() (γίν.) (ἡμυωβελιον) (τέταρτον) ἡ[θήταις (?) ιατρο- (?) ¹⁵ κλύστη (πεντάβολον) Ἀρμάι . . [¹⁶ τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ Χώνσι (δρ.) β [¹⁷ (λοι-

* It would be hazardous to read the latter as *ῥώων* and treat it as an early testimony to the planting of cotton in Egypt.

ποι) κή(φιν)οι) πς. For Heracles-Chons cf. *Etymol. Magnum* 816, 27 Gaisford τὸν Ἡρακλέα φασὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν διάλεκτον Χῶνα λέγεσθαι. The reading Χῶνσι is due to T. C. Skeat.

269. Mummy 18. c. 270–250 B.C. Three fragments offering at least 4 but probably more columns of private accounts. Among items of expenditure are sums of either 2 or 4 obols paid to individuals ὥστε ἐπαντλεῖν, 9 drachmae for a χίτων, and (probably) 2 dr. as *φελακτικὸν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κλήρου*.
270. Mummy A. c. 260–240 B.C. 4.5 × 12 cm. Recto 5 lines, verso 12 lines of private accounts, different hands. Recto : ¹σαμβυκίστρια ρ ²μοσχίνη καὶ ἀγς. [³Μεχίρ ζ ⁴Φαμενῶθ . [⁵Φαρμουῖθι λ [.
271. Mummy 10. 8.5 × 9 cm. About 230 B.C. Five scraps of household (?) accounts, in a tiny hand, of which the largest and best preserved is here given. Eleven lines from foot of a column : ¹]. ν (ὀβολός) . . [² . . . []. (τριῶβολον) σοῦσον (ἡμιοβέλιον) ³ιβ . . . (ἡμιοβέλιον) κγ κδ [κ]ε κς οἴφος η (γίνονται) ιη [. . . [⁴κε σοῦσον (ὀβολός) (τέταρτον) περιστέρα (ὀβολός) (τέταρτον) κασίαι (τετρώβολον) οἶτος [.] ⁵κύλληστις (τριῶβολον) στέφανοι (ὀβολός) (τέταρτον) τραγήματα . κς ⁶κολλύρια (ὀβολός) μήλα [. .] ⁷ρόαι (τέταρτον χαλκοῦς) περσέα (ὀβολός) [.] ⁸σμον λάχανα (τέταρτον χαλκοῦς) [⁹στέφανοι [.] ¹⁰[.] ἐττωρου ρσ . . . ν (τριῶβολον) . . [¹¹[γ]νάπτρα (?)]

(b) ROMAN

272. 1903. Late 1st–early 2nd century. Numerous fragments of a petition, in a very brittle condition. L. 4 was quoted in Part I, p. 8 for its place name. Various scraps suggest the petition was to obtain redress for violent treatment (e.g.] βίαιος [.] ἐπηρεάζων). Ll. 1–7 : ¹[c. 7 τῶι κ]αὶ Θέωνι ²στρα[τηγ]ῶι (nome apparently omitted, presumably Heracleopolite. Henne, *Stratégès*, records no [] ὁ καὶ Θέων for this nome at this period) ³παρὰ Σαραπ[ί]ωνος T[12–13] ⁴ἀπὸ κώμης Ψύχεως τοῦ κάτω Κωίτων. ⁵τηγχάνωι (l. ἐντυγχάνω) κατὰ Νεφ[ο]ρώτος Ἀρχήμιος ⁶τῶν ἀπὸ τῆ[s αὐτῆς] κώμης [6–9] ⁷ἀποστατῆ[.
273. 1903. 6.5 × 13 cm. Left-hand piece from beginning of a memorandum or petition addressed to a number of quasi-municipal officers, possibly of Heracleopolis. In view of uncertainty about the length of the line no restorations have been attempted. Lines 2, 4, 7 and 10 could be restored on the basis of only four letters lost, but such a basis would not allow sense to be made of ll. 3, 5, 6, 11 or 12. Of interest is the hitherto unrecorded name Σαραποηράκλειος (l. 1). The handwriting suggests a date in the second half of the second century A.D. rather than the third century, and

the absence of the title *βουλευτής* confirms this indication. ¹ *Σαραποηρακλείω* [² *ἐνάρχω γυμνασιάρχῳ* ³ *διὰ Νεμεσίωνος π[ρυνταίνως (?)* ⁴ [. . .] *ἀρχηκότος κ[αί* (the first two letters have been altered and are now ambiguous. Presumably *γυμνα]σιαρχηκότος* was intended) *ἀγο]* ⁵ *ῥανομηκότος καί* [⁶ *κεκοσμητευκότος* ⁷ *πατρὸς καὶ Ἀπολλ[ωνίου* ⁸ *ιερεὶ ἐνάρχω . . .* [⁹ *καὶ Ἡρακλείω ἐνάρ[χῳ* ¹⁰ *κοσμητῇ καὶ Ἡρακλείω* ¹¹ *δη ἐνάρχω ἀρχ[ιερεὶ (?)* ¹² *Ἀδριανειοῦ* [¹³ *πόλεως* [¹⁴ *παρὰ* [¹⁵ *νιός* [¹⁶ *οὐτο]* ¹⁷ *μῆς* [¹⁸ *παρ[* ¹⁹ *λατ[* ²⁰ *ἐπαγ[* ²¹ *ἀξ[*.

274. (1903.) 12 × 23 cm. On the verso of 216. Ends of lines of draft of a petition to an important Roman, perhaps a patron of an athletic *σύνδοδος*, written in a well-made 'chancery-type' cursive of the early third century A.D. Though the object of the petition is obscure, its rhetorical finish and choice of language (e.g. the rare word *ἰθαγενής*, l. 10) are worth recording. Initial letters of a second column of writing are visible on the right, and there are offsets of other writing below. ¹ *ἴδος ἱππῶν δημοσίων* ² *ἰδεωρημένους (?)*] καὶ ἐγγ[4-6] *πρὸς* ³ *[βεις (?)*]. *συνδόδου ἱερονεικῶν* ⁴ *Ἡρώων καὶ Ἑρμίας* ⁵ *ταῖς ἀκριβεστάταις σου* ⁶ *ἡλ[. . .] πρὸ βήμα-* ⁷ *[τος] ἐν θεῖ[αν] εὐεργεσίαν* ⁸ *[θεοῦ Ἀδλίου Ἀντωνίου ἐν Εὐ]σεβοῦς* ⁹ *σι παραλογισμοῦ ὑπὸ* ¹⁰ *ἑλίων ἰθαγενῶν καὶ* ¹¹ *εὐ]σεβείας προσκύνσεις* ¹² *ἀν]τιδικῶν ἐντυχεῖν σοι* ¹³ *ῶσει πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι* ¹⁴ *τῆς [θεῖ]ας καὶ οὐρα* ¹⁵ *[νίας (?) βου]λόμεθα* ¹⁶ *traces* ¹⁷ *ἡμέραι. εἰ ἄρα καὶ* ¹⁸ *ῥογῶν εἰωθότες* ¹⁹ *] τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ πεμ* ²⁰ *[φθέντα*] *ς τῇ τύχῃ* ²¹ *δο* ²² *ἔ]μελέτησεν ὡς ὑ-* ²³ *γν]οὺς ᾧ τρόπῳ τῶν* ²⁴ *ῖμα οὐ ἂν ῥαδίως* ²⁵ *[κρατ[ίσ]-* ²⁶ *των ἡμε-* ²⁷ *ῖ]μῶς [. . .] πανδημ* ²⁸ *[δι]ατριβῇ [τ]ὰ μέγιστα* ²⁹ *κδ.*

275. (1903.) 12.5 × 14.5 cm. Ends of lines of a first column and beginnings of lines in a second, perhaps from an official letter. The subject concerns corn transport. Quoted for the sake of the village name *Περκεῖσις*. Second half of first century A.D. Col. ii, ll. 1-7: ¹ *τῶν τριῶν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης* ² *ἀναδοθέντων ἐν ἐπο[κί]ῳ* ³ *Περκεῖσι· τὸ δὲ αὐτάρκη (l. -ες) δι* ⁴ *ῖμα ἅμα τῇ ἐμβολῇ [. . .]* ⁵ *δι τόπων βαρ[* 8-10] ⁶ *κομισθῆτω . [ἐμβάλ-]* ⁷ *λεῖν ἐσφραγισ[μένον].* Below, l. 13 *τοῦ [αὐ]τοῦ Περκεῖ[σιος] ἐποικίου (?)* ¹⁴ *ἀλοφύλακες [*.

276. (1903.) 16.5 × 8 cm. First five lines of a letter in Latin written in a fair-sized, practised angular cursive, sloping to the right, to be assigned to the late second or early third century A.D. The Dura papyrus published by M. Rostovtzeff in *C.-R. Acad. Inscr.* (1933), pp. 309 ff. (plate in Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, *L'Écriture latine*, no. 28), dated A.D. 202-7, has many similarities, while P. Oxy. 1114 of A.D. 237 is probably a later de-

velopment of the same type of hand. Though of small compass, the text is of interest for the mention of an *orthographus leg() n()* (which is perhaps to be expanded *leg(ionis) n(ostrae)* rather than *leg(ati) n(ostri)*, though the rank of *orthographus legionis* is unknown), and palaeographically for the use of a short overwritten horizontal stroke (not unlike an accent) as a substitute for the *n* in *praesens*. ¹ *Iulius Repositus* \CI/ *Germano suo* ² *salutem*. ³ *Et praese(n)s te domine frater* ⁴ *rogaue* ⁵ *ram coram Ammonium orthogra* ⁶ *phum* *leg() n() amicum n(ostrum) karissi(mum) . . .* Verso, addressed across the fibres, the first line in tall, stylized letters, resembling in effect the contemporary Greek chancery hand, but the scribe is probably the same: ¹ *Cl Nidió Germa[no]* ² *a Iulio Reposito* ³ *col- l(ega)*. A Claudius Germanus, probably also a military officer, appears in the late second-century ostrakon (from Thebes ?) O. Skeat 11, published by H. C. Youtie, *T.A.P.A.* 82, pp. 110-11, and further discussed by J. F. Gilliam, *T.A.P.A.* 83, pp. 51-5.

277. 1903. 8.5 × 17 cm. Pius. Parts of 19 lines from the end of what may be a contract of loan. The subscription is quoted for the village name Χοινῶθις (?), a village in the Coite toparchy, spelt thus in P. Oxy. 1463. 8 (third century A.D.) but figuring as Χοιβνῶτμης in Ptolemaic texts (68. 3 ; 112. 26, 86). Ll. 8-19 : ⁸ τὸ δ(ἐ χειρόγραφον) ⁹ ἐγράφη δ(ις)σὸν κ(αὶ) κύριον ἔστω] ¹⁰ ὡς ἐν δ(η)μοσίῳ κ(ατακεχωρισμέ) ¹¹ νον. 'Ηρακλειδ(η)ς] ¹² ἀπὸ κώμης Χοινῶ(θ)εως (?) τοῦ ὕ] ¹³ πὲρ Μέμφιν 'Ηρα(κλεοπολίτου) ¹⁴ γέγραφα περὶ αὐτ(ῶ)ν γράμματα] ¹⁵ μὴ ἰδὸτος (l. εἰδ-). 'Ετου(ς) Αὐτοκρά] ¹⁶ τορος Καίσαρος Τίτ(ου) Αἰλίου 'Αδριανοῦ] ¹⁷ 'Αντωνίνου Σεβαστ(οῦ) Εὐσεβοῦς] ¹⁸ Θωβ β'. ἔστιν δ(ὲ) [δ] ¹⁹ ἀπὸ 'Αγγφαλός (reading very uncertain) κ(ὴ) μ(η)ς].
278. 1902. 14.5 × 15 cm. A.D. 176-80. Ends of 15 lines of a contract of loan or *depositum*, the names of the parties being lost and the sum illegible. Alluded to in Part I, p. 8 for its topographical reference. Ll. 1-3 : ¹ ['Ετους of Marcus and Α]ιοκίρ[υ] Αὐρηλ[ί]ο]ν Κομμόδου Σεβαστῶν Ξα] ² δ(ικου) x Μεχείρ x] . . . ἐν κ(ώ)μῃ 'Ασσύα τοῦ Κωίτου τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν ³ ['Ηρακλεοπολίτου. 'Ομολογεῖ . . . νιος Πεκύσιος (from l. 11)] τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς 'Ασσύα ὡς ἐπὶν ἐβδομήκοντα, κτλ.
279. 1902. 23 × 13 cm. Second half of first century A.D. Parts of two columns of a corn account. Provenance almost certainly Heracleopolite nome, though there is no internal evidence in confirmation. Col. i, ends of 5 lines, with additions in a smaller hand. Col. ii, parts of 9 lines. Ll. 1-7 : ¹ τῶν παρορείων ἀρουρῶν ἐξ ² οὐκ οἶδα [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) . . .] ³ τῶν [(πρότερον)] πλησίων (πρότερον) Σενέκα ⁴ ἀρουρῶν ζυ() (ἀρτ.) μ ⁵ ἀλ- λων ἀρουρῶν ἐξ ἐν τῷ ⁶ λεγομένω[ι] περ[ι]χ(ώ)ματι ⁷ πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) Λ[ι]. The

supposed ζυ() following ἀρουῶν in l. 4 is written **2**, and may be an unrecognized conventional symbol for some form of corn crop.

- 280.** 1902. One fragment and a number of scraps of a register of house property, written in the middle or late second century A.D. Property is described under its owner's name (in the genitive), and is situated in various villages (Θμουα . . . , l. 3, Μούχης, l. 16) of the Heracleopolite nome, in this respect differing from P. Oslo. 111, which is restricted to Oxyrhynchus. After each item a second hand has made an entry which in all cases but one reads ἐφάνη ἀοίκητος. No doubt this entry was made after an inspection, and both register and inspection served a fiscal purpose, possibly for assessment of ἐνοίκιον. Owing to the mutilation of the papyrus and the numerous abbreviations employed, interpretation in detail is uncertain. Frag. i, 13 × 23.5 cm., 31 lines. 10–15 letters are lost on the left in ll. 1–4, 6–7, 9. Ll. 1–19: ¹ . ατρεσκαθη . . . () Φατραυὸς πρρρ . [²]ατραυὸς Ἀρσιόσιος καὶ ἀλ(λ)) ὡν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα (?) ³ οἰκ(ίας) εἴ συνπεπτω(κνίας) ἐν κώ(μῃ) Θμουα . . . [⁴]μου σνπεπτω() καὶ ἀλ(λ) . . . () . . . [⁵ (2nd hand)] . η <ιγ (< might be for σ or for the drachma sign) ⁶] οἰκ(ίας) μέρο(ς) (ἐκτον) ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) κώμῃ οὐσ(ης) [⁷] . . . ἀπ(ηλιώτου) καὶ λιβὸς οιοι (?) ⁸ (2nd hand) ἐφάνη ἀοίκητος. ⁹] οἰκ(ι) ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) κώ(μῃ) κοι(νῶς) ?) πρὸς ρκαθη [¹⁰ . . . [c. 10] ἀλ(λ)) . . ο() αν διὰ ψιλ(ων) τόπ(ων) ¹¹ (2nd hand) ἐφάνη ἀοίκητος ¹² Ἀμμωνίου Ἡρακλείδου ἐξ ἱερῶν τῶν Φιλ . . . πρ . . . [¹³ . . . οἰκ(ι) ἐν κώ(μῃ) Μου . ω() Χάνης γιγρ(μένη)) ρικ(ι)) Ἀγε [¹⁴ (2nd hand) ἐφάνη ἀοίκητος ¹⁵ Παχομεῖ Παῦτος καὶ Φατραυὸς Ἰνρρζμῆθιος ἐξ [ἴσου (?) ¹⁶ πρὸς Ὀφειλλαι (?) ἐν κώ(μῃ) Μούχει μέρη γ ἀπὸ δ οἰκ(ίας) κρρ [¹⁷ συνπεπτωκ(νίας) γινο(μένης) οἰκ(ίας) Ψενεόωτο(s) καὶ () [¹⁸ ἀπ(ηλιώτου) οἰκ(ία) ἡ (πρότερον) Σενφενέμως ¹⁹ (2nd hand) ἐφάνη ἀοίκητα. On the verso, in a small cursive of the third century A.D., parts of 25 lines of a draft report or memorandum dealing with irrigation (?). Ll. 11–12: ¹¹] . εἰς τῆς ἀναβάσεως περὶ τῆς πείρας (ὀ)πείρας ?) ¹²] περὶ τῆς εἰσροίας τῶν ὑδάτ(ων) ὑπέταξα [.

- 281.** 1902. 12.5 × 21.5 cm. First century A.D. Parts of three columns (and traces of a fourth) of a list of names, the majority being checked by two oblique strokes to the left. No heading survives. Col. ii is printed as a specimen: ¹ Ἀρσινόης (for the form cf. P. Teb. 413. 1) χήρα ² υἱός αὐτῆς ³ Ἰναροῦς Ὡρου ⁴ Ναφορρ [υἱός (the name Ναφορρῆς in full in iii. 7 and 22) ⁵ [.]εῖς δοῦλ(ος) ⁶ [γν]ιῇ Περεχορ() ⁷ Ὡρος Ἰλαρίωνος ⁸ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ⁹ Ταγῦτις (the same name clearly written in i. 5) Ἰλαρίωνος ¹⁰ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ¹¹ Ἀρκεῦς Ποίας ¹² γυνὴ αὐτοῦ

¹³ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ¹⁴ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ¹⁵ Φῶς πρε(σβύτερος) γέρδ(ιος) ¹⁶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ¹⁷ Λεῦκίς υἱὸς ¹⁸ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ¹⁹ Πατερίς υἱὸς ²⁰ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ²¹ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ²² Λέλλυς υἱὸς Θυνεφείας (Θυν. added above line by a second hand) γέρδιο(ς) ²³ γυνὴ [αὐτο]ῦ. Traces of 4 more lines. The following names in cols. i and iii do not occur in Preisigke, *Namenebuch*: Παλβωνθ() (i. 20), Τετβούεις (iii. 14), Πάδαμς (iii. 15), Βύκις (iii. 18), Κανένε(ος) (iii. 23).

- 282.** 1902, found in the 'rubbish of the cemetery'. One large fragment, two smaller ones and a score of scraps of an agricultural accounting book, in some ways analogous to the well-known farm accounts of Hermopolis (P. Lond. i. 131, pp. 166 ff.). To judge from handwriting, the account is to be assigned to the late first or early second century A.D. Items occur in the large fragment (13.5 × 24 cm.) as follows: l. 8] καὶ τῶν ἐκφερόντων κόπρια παρὰ [: ll. 9–19 deal with payments made during Pharmuthi to brickmakers. L. 9 :] . . . ετω πλινθευτῇ εἰς τῇ(ν) ὅπτη[σιν πλίνθου]. In ll. 13–14 two workmen ὑποκαόντ(ων) τὴν συνθέτην (πλίνθον ?) [εἰς τῇ(ν)] ὅπτησιν(ν) πλίνθου(ν) are paid at the rate of six obols a day. Two others are paid at four obols. At the foot of the column, ll. 20–4, dealing with breaking the ground and sowing, contain some unusual terms and may be given in full. Perhaps nothing is lost from the ends of the lines. ²⁰ καὶ τῶν ἐργαζομένων(ν) [. . .] τῇ(ν) ἐν τ(ῇ) ἰδιοσπορίᾳ (cf. P. Ryl. 142. 18 n.) [²¹ τοῦ Ἀμέως το(ῦ) Ἀπολλωνίου(ν) κλήρου] δειοβολοῦντ(α) [τῇ(ν)] [²² τὴν βωλοστροφίαν Φαμενώ(θ) ζ θή(λυ) ζε(ύγος) α ἡ ζε(ύγος) α [²³ θ α ἱ α ἰα α ἱβ α ἱγ α κα σπερμωβολοῦντ(α) [²⁴ θή(εα) ζε(ύγ) β καβ ὁμοίω(ς) β καδ β κε β (γίνεται) θή(εα) ζε(ύγ) ιε. δειοβολεῖν, l. 21 (l. διο-), is new, and must be set in relation with μονοβολεῖν in P. Lond. i. 131, 290, etc. As the procedure here described as δειοβολοῦντα τὴν βωλοστροφίαν precedes the sowing, Schnebel's explanation of μονοβολεῖν (*Landwirtschaft*, pp. 134–5, cf. LSJ 'undertake sowing without assistance') can hardly be right. βωλοστροφία, l. 22, appears only in *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* (βωλοστροφεῖν in *Georonica* ii. 23. 14), but cf. the analogous βωλοκοπεῖν in P. Lond. loc. cit. 50. θή(εα) ζε(ύγ) = teams of cows, not otherwise mentioned in papyri, though their use is probably implicit in descriptions such as ζεύγῃ ταυρικά, P. Lille i. 8. 8. A second fragment, much obliterated, deals with βύρσαι. On the verso of the main fragment are 15 lines of a day-to-day account in a hand of the later second century A.D. mentioning sums in obols and quantities in σφυρίδ(α).
- 283.** 1902. 12.5 × 21.5 cm. First to second century, on the verso of **281**. Private account. ¹ Ζουλᾶς γέρδ(ιος) (δραχμάς) ις ² Ἀρπαῖ(ς) Ἐρμοπολί(της) κ ³ Πρισίω(ν) (third letter apparently altered from ο to ι)

Παυσοῖς φίλος) κ * Ἀκούς ὑπέρ) βαλ(αν)αί(ου) β * Ἡρακλῆς πρῆ-
 (κτωρ) (?) ι. * Ἀλαιοργίου βαλ(αν)αίου β ? Νεφεριῶς παλ() (παλ(αι-
 στής) ?) β * Παντεβού(ις) ε μεριρ(μῶν) (?) ιβ * Ἀδρόστου χαλκ(ως) (δρ.) δ
 10 (γίνονται δρ.) [πς]ς 11 τιμ(ή) οἶνο(υ) κεράμια) ε λγ 12 βαλανίου
 κδ 13 (δρ.) ρν. *Space of two lines, then:* 14].. εργ() γυνή 15].. ις ἀπὸ
 φίλ(ων) β 16] Ὄρου μαγιῶ(ων) β.

284. (1903.) 28 × 1.3 cm. Cloth mummy wrapper inscribed *Θεοαρπαήσιος*
Φίλων [. . .] (after Φ, φ is a possible reading). Presumably one of the
 mummies referred to in Part I, p. 4. Probably 2nd century.

INDICES

An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is prefixed is not recorded in LSJ. If a figure is enclosed in square brackets [], it means that there is some doubt about the word cited (for instance, if a considerable part of it is restored).

I. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

(a) VERSE (172-81)

*ἀγκυλόπτερος 172 116
 *ἀγλαοῦρης 172 106
 ἀρχήθος 172 84
 ἀρχήματος [172 87]
 ἀρχήματος 172 85
 ἀρχιστοφός 172 86
 ἀρχι[]...ος 172 83
 ἀγ. α. ος 172 82
 ἀδρός 181 12
 ἀθάνατος 173 10 176 9
 αἰαί 177 8
 αἰολόπτερος 172 113
 ἀκτής 178 8
 ἀλγος 179 4
 *ἀλγιστῆς 172 70
 *ἀλγιστέων 172 64
 *ἀλγιστή 172 58
 *ἀλγιστος 172 66
 *ἀλιδερκτής 172 57
 ἀλιδόντης [172 63]
 ἀλίζωνος 172 54, 67
 ἀλμυρήσασα 172 50
 ἀλμυρῶνος 172 55
 ἀλυττογῆς (?) 172 56
 ἄλλος 174 14
 ἄλλος [179 70]
 *ἀλογενέτωρ 172 53
 *ἄλοσιδὴν 172 51
 *ἀλοεχτής 172 52
 ἄσος [175 4]
 ἀμφεσβίους [172 81]
 ἄμυλα 179 37
 ἀμφίαιλος 172 62
 ἀμφίπολος (?) [175 21]
 ἀναγκαῖον 181 24
 ἀνῆρ [178 9]
 ἀνίθεος 172 39
 ἄσιος or ἄξιος 178 5
 ἀπαλός 176 7
 ἀπῆλτος 181 14
 ἀπολλύναι (?) [181 1]
 ἀποτρέπειν 178 4
 [Ἀρ]χιφίλος [172 43]
 Ἀρχιλοχος 173 3, 7, 11

*Ἀσκαλῆσις 181 8
 ἀσπυλλόγιστος 180 20
 Ἀσπυλλοῖσι [174 17]
 αἰλός 176 4
 αὐτός 174 20
 Ἀχελεύς 174 16
 βάπτειν 180 22
 βῆμα 179 8
 βλέπειν [179 71] 180 1
 βλώσκειν [180 21]
 Βουαιώι 177 7, [19]
 γαῖα [179 61]
 γαμῖν 179 39
 γένος 180 13
 γῆ 173 8
 γηραιός 179 8
 γίγνεσθαι 178 6
 γνήσιος (?) [179 23]
 γνώρισμα 179 1
 *δαιτόποιος 172 27
 Δάναος 181 11
 Δῆος 181 2
 δέδωκε 175 14
 δεδάσθαι 175 6
 δεδοκέναι [174 27]
 δεκανόμισθαι 175 13
 δεικνύναι 175 9
 δειλινός 175 15
 δεινός 175 8
 δεῖρῃ 175 3
 δεισθαί 175 7
 δεισιδαιμων 172 41
 δέκτης 175 2
 δέδωκεν [175 4]
 δέπαστρον 175 11
 δέρεσθαι 175 5 179 2
 δέυνε 175 10
 δηάλωτος 172 91
 δῆν 177 11
 δίαυλος 179 14
 διθύραμβος (?) [177 20]

δίκη (?) 179 33
 δίχα 179 52
 δοκεῖν 179 51
 δοριόλυτος 172 92
 *δοριόλυτος [172 98]
 δοριέτης 172 94
 δοριετής 172 95
 δόρυ 174 18 [179 72]
 δορυσοῦς 172 111
 δοτιπυροῖ (?) 175 12
 δρᾶν 179 36
 δραχμή 181 7
 δουδεκάβοις 172 80
 δώδεκα 181 9
 ἐγκύκλιος 176 5
 ἐγχεσίματος 172 118
 ἐγχεσπάλος 172 107
 εἰκοσι 181 7
 εἰκοσόβοις 172 79
 εἰσορᾶν 179 28
 ἐκατόμβοις 172 78
 ἐκείνος 179 63
 ἐλάσσω 179 60
 *ἔλενος 174 12
 ἐμβαινεῖν [176 9]
 εἰκοσι 174 14
 ἐξάγειν 179 49
 ἐπεῖτα 173 12
 ἐπείχειν 177 10
 ἐπιτάχειν (?) [174 12]
 ἔπος [174 12]
 ἐρέειν 173 6
 ἐρχεσθαι 181 32
 ἐσορᾶν 174 13
 ἐτι 177 6
 *ἐτημέλιστος 172 71
 *ἐτημέλις 172 69
 *ἐτημέλιος 172 72
 *ἐτημέλις 172 73
 εὐθύνειν [175 20]
 εὐκαιρος 175 18
 εὐρύγεια 172 45
 εὐρύωντος 172 46

εὐρύχορος 172 44
 εὐρύ...νος 172 48
 εὐρύ...τος 172 47
 εὐχος 175 19
 εὐωδία 179 27
 ἔχειν 174 13 181 4
 Ζεύς 178 2
 ἥδη 177 11
 ἥδους 179 4
 *ἡεροποιίτις 172 31
 ἡεροποιίτις 172 30
 ἦκεν 174 20
 ἦμεις 174 29
 ἡμέτερος [179 11]
 ἦρα 177 6
 *Ἡράκλειος 179 50, 62
 ἦρος 180 38
 *Ἡφαιστος [174 21]
 *θαλασσοζώνος [172 68]
 θανμαστός 179 35
 θάλειν 181 6
 *θούγγητος 172 89
 θέσις 172 88
 θεός 173 10, 12; ἡ θ. 176 3
 *θεοταρβής 172 38
 θεοδής 172 37
 θιγγάνειν 174 9
 θνήσκειν 180 11
 θρίναξ 177 14
 θρηπόλος 174 12
 ἰάχειν [176 8]
 ἰέναι 178 7
 *Ἴλιος 178 6
 ἰοχέαιρα [172 126]
 ἰππάρκας 172 21
 ἰπποκαίτης 172 14
 ἰπποκράμης 172 18; -ος 172 20
 ἰππόβαμος 172 17
 ἰπποδάσια 172 13
 ἰπποδύντης 172 19
 ἰπποκίλευθος 172 22
 ἰππόλοφος 172 15
 *ἰπποφάτης 172 16
 ἰσηλὺς 179 6
 ἰσόθεος 172 40
 Κάδμος 179 61
 κακουργία 180 2
 κακῶς 180 7
 καλλιβλήφαρος 172 104
 καλλίτεκος 172 105
 καλός: καλλίονα 174 21
 καλύπτειν 177 11
 καμπυλόπρηνος 172 115

*καμφήγουνος 172 29
 *καμφήγειν 172 28
 καρποφόρος [172 125]
 κελαιδὺν 176 4
 κελαισεφής [172 5]
 κενός 179 37
 κλέος 175 19
 κλύειν 174 1, 11
 κοιλία 181 14
 κόρη 180 6
 κορυθαίς 172 109
 κράτιστος 181 36
 *κυναυγής 172 12
 *κυναοθέιρος 172 9
 *κυναοσίγους 172 7
 *κυναοκόλπος 172 11
 κυανόπρηνος 172 32
 κυανόφωρος 172 10
 κυανόχαίτης 172 6
 κυανώπης 172 8
 κυβερνῶν 175 20
 λαμβάνειν [179 3] 180 23
 λανθάνειν 181 31
 λέγειν 179 25
 *λειριόπρηνος 172 114
 λιθοδμήτος 172 90
 Λυκίη 174 11
 λωτο[172 124
 μά 181 8
 μαλακός 176 2
 μάντις 174 12
 μαστιγο[178 16
 μάτην [174 17]
 μέγας 176 3
 μελαγκρήνης [172 3]
 μελαμπέταλος [172 1]
 μελαμφαής [172 4]
 μελαμφύλλος [172 2]
 μέλος 174 10
 μετὰ 174 5
 *μυλοτόραος 172 36
 μιλτόπρηνος 172 33
 μίμνεν 174 28
 μυχθαλέσσα 172 65
 Μοσχίων (?) [180 27]
 μυστ[(?) [179 12]
 νομίμας 176 5
 νόμος 180 37
 νοστός 181 13
 ξεινο...ης 172 97
 *ξενόδαίκτης 172 96
 ὀκοσος 176 3
 ὀλεθρος 181 28

*Ὀλμυπομέδων 172 74
 *Ὀμηρος 173 1, 5, 9, 13
 ὀμοιοειδής 175 introd.
 *ὀπισθοπόινος 172 26
 ὀπλον 174 19
 ὀφφάνος (?) [180 38]
 ὅσος 179 53
 ὅτε 174 14
 παλάμη 176 6
 παλμπόινος 172 25
 παντογόνος [172 60]
 παρόγειν 181 37
 παρόνοια 181 29
 παρέναι 174 23
 παρθηκκαί 176 10
 παρόρειν 178 3
 παύειν 181 27
 πέμπειν 179 5
 Πλούτων 178 7
 πλώειν 177 9
 ποικίσθαι 174 5
 *ποικιλόπρηνος 172 112
 πολίος 179 7 bis
 πόντιος 174 20
 *ποντογνήτης 172 61
 *ποντογόνος [172 60 n.]
 ποντομέδων 172 59
 ποτόμιμος 181 11
 ποῖς 176 9
 πράξις [174 14]
 πράσσειν 181 37
 προστάτης [181 37]
 πυροῦν 174 2
 ῥάπτειν [177 12]
 ῥίξ 179 26
 σακέσπαλος 172 108
 σαφής 179 2
 σεμνός 179 45
 σημαίνειν 177 13
 *σιδηροπόρης (?) 172 93
 σιδηρο...ωτης 172 99
 σοφός 181 10
 σποδῆς 179 3
 στερεοκίον 174 19
 στέφειν 179 20
 συναρμίζειν 180 16
 σύνθημα 179 16
 συνωιδός 176 2
 σωίζειν 181 28
 ταμίας 175 21
 ταχύς 175 18
 τεύχος [173 2]
 τέκνον [177 8]

τετιγῆσθαι [177 2]
 τίφρα 180 14
 τιθῆναι 179 38
 τίς 174 11, 13, 14
 τότε 173 8
 τραχύς 177 23
 τριχάκις 172 110
 τυγχάνειν 181 33, 34
 τύμπανον 176 8
 ὑλακόμωρος 172 117
 ὑποπαίλειν [176 10]
 φερέει, α. [172 122
 φέρειν 179 1
 φερέσθιος 172 123
 φίλος 179 24

φάβος 174 13
 Φαίβος 174 11
 *φαινοκοπάρος 172 34
 *φαινοκοπάρους 172 35
 φροντίζειν 181 17
 Φρύγιος 176 4
 φῶς 174 30
 χαίτη 177 13
 χάλκασις [172 102]
 χάλκοκορυστής [172 103]
 χάλκος 181 12
 χαλκο...ης 172 100
 χαλκο... [172 101
 χαρίεις: χαριεσται[177 22
 χάσμα 179 introd. 3
 χάσκειν [173 8]

χείρ 174 14 179 15
 χῆν 179 21
 χορός 174 10 176 5
 χραισμῆν 173 2, 4
 χρησμός [174 9]
 χρόνος 179 6
 χρούσιος 177 14
 χρυσηλάκατος [172 23]
 ψύχεσθαι [177 15]
 ὤς 173 6
 ὠστε 180 25
 [ε.] δαίμων 172 42
 [ε. μιδων 172 75
 [ρακοῦειν 181 30

(b) PROSE (182-92)

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(a) PTOLEMAIC KINGS AND REGNAL YEARS

ALEXANDER

Ἀλέξανδρος [199 16] 209 3 261 2 262 2

PTOLEMY SOTER

θεός Σωτήρ (?) [214 15, 18, 24]

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS

βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου 199 9-10
 βασιλευντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἔτ. κγ 209 i
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 Years to be referred to this reign: η 198 19, 27. ιδ 198 147 199 12. ιε 198 160. κα 209 8.
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PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS OR EUERGETES

βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος 202 i 235 i 236 i
 ὁ βασιλεὺς 198 2. βασιλεύς 201 7 202 4
 Years, uncertain: δ 198 13. (?) 198 fr. εγ v 5

PTOLEMY EUERGETES

βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινοῆς Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν *ἐτ.* η 261 ι 262 ι
 βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος 237 ι
 βασιλεὺς 238 ιο
 βασίλισσα 267 9
 Years to be attributed to this reign : ε 198 245. η 261 ι 262 ι. ιβ 259 8. κγ 263 9

PTOLEMY EUERGETES OR PHILOPATOR

βασιλεὺς 239 6

PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR

Years to be attributed to this reign : ι 265. ιζ 265 4, 8

PTOLEMY EPIPHANES

Years to be attributed to this reign : α 265 4. β 265

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UNCERTAIN

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ANTONINUS

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 θεὸς Αἰλῖος Ἀντωνεῖνος Εὐσεβὴς 274 8

MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσαρες Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Λούκιος Αἰρήλιος Κόμμοδος Σεβαστοὶ Ἀρμε-
 νικαὶ Μηδικαὶ Παρθικαὶ Γερμανικαὶ Σαρματικαὶ Μείγιστοι 217 42
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CARACALLA AND GETA

τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων Μάρκου Αἰρήλιου Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου
 Γέτα Βρετανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν 216 5, 13 (altered) (prob. *ἐτ.* κ)

LICINIUS AND CONSTANTINE

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικινιανοῦ Λικινίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου
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 'Απολλέδαυρος 212 21
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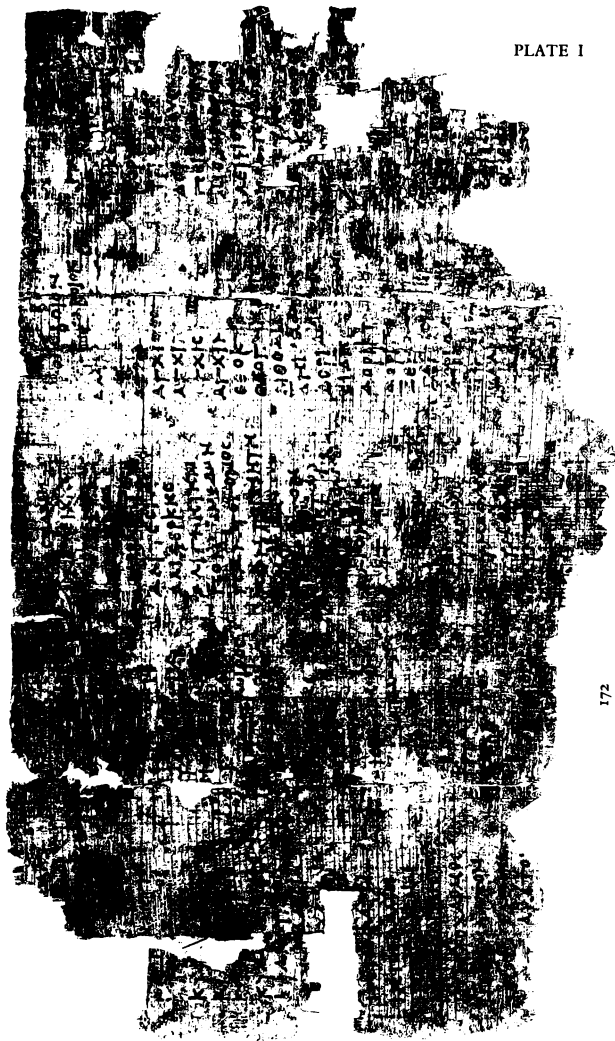
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